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THE IMPERFECT WITH SIMPLE WAW IN HEBREW

FRED. T. KELLY
MADISON, WISCONSIN

IN the following study an attempt is made to bring together, and classify, as far as possible, the imperfect with simple waw, as found in the Hebrew of the Masoretic Text.

The large number of examples of this combination in the Hebrew Bible (1287 are listed here), as pointed by the Masoretes, argues that at some time in the history of the language the phenomenon had a fairly well-defined usage. That most of the cases are not errors for the imperfect with waw consecutive, is evidenced by the context, as well as by the earlier versions. For example, the Pentateuch has about 240 cases of this imperfect with simple waw, but, on comparing the Septuagint, only two cases of the past tenses, indicative, were found. One of these is Num. 16 5, in the account of Korah's rebellion, where the Greek does not follow the Hebrew closely, and even here the aorist may be gnomic. The other case is in Numb. 17 3, which deals with tbe disposition to be made of the censers used by Korah's party. Even in Hebrew the usage is quite out of the normal here.

Further, if we examine the Samaritan version for the same books, we find that out of the 241 cases there are only five cases of waw with the perfect, and four of these are in the first chapter of Genesis, all the other being waw with the imperfect, when a finite form of the verb is used.

This phenomenon of the imperfect with waw has long been noted by scholars, but most have dismissed it with but little comment, as it really is of less importance than the waw consecutive forms. However, the matter has received some attention. Among moderns, perhaps the late Professor Driver has done the most in this field, and it is along the line of his suggestions that an attempt is made to follow out some general lines of classification.

In the first place, there are numerous cases which Driver does not attempt to bring under the classifications he suggests. Davidson and Harper have the same difficulty, the one remarking that the principles stated by him "fail to explain all the instances" in the Masoretic Text, and the other, that there are numerous "cases of which no adequate explanation has been offered".

Kautzsch, in the 28th edition of Gesenius' Hebrew Grammar, gives no special classification of the usage of weak waw, as he does of the waw consecutive, yet, incidentally, he gives some valuable observations. Nor does König, in his *Syntax*, attempt to treat the subject otherwise than incidentally.

A large number of the cases of imperfect found with simple waw are voluntative imperfects (jussives and cohortatives), and, further, very often follow voluntatives (jussives, cohortatives and imperatives). Hence it is quite probable that the voluntative imperfect was the normal form, with a simple waw, of course, used to continue another voluntative, when not in the simple sequential sense, which would require a consecutive form.

The matter is made more uncertain from the fact that most verbs in Hebrew do not show distinctively voluntative imperfects, and even those that possess such forms do not always appear as such, due to considerations of euphony, as well as to the fact that when suffixes are added the forms cannot be used, even though the sense plainly calls for such use. Further, practically all traces of a subjunctive in Hebrew are lost, unless we call the cohortative a subjunctive. So the voluntative imperfect, so-called, seems to do duty, in many cases, for the subjunctive.

After going over all the cases in the books in which they occur, we find a considerable variety in usage by the different

writers. However, we find that in ordinary sentences (i. e. not conditional etc.) three general lines of usage occur, to which a fourth may be added, which may be called "synonymous" or "intensive". In poetry, where this last is quite common, it might be named the "parallelistic" usage. As in all classifications, the boundary lines are not distinctly marked and it is often difficult to decide to which category a given case belongs. For example, in poetry, many cases might well be classed as either "intensive" or "coordinate", as will be seen by a merely cursory examination of the text.

First, there is what we may call the "coordinate" usage. Here the imperfect with waw merely continues, as a separate unit, what may be taken as a voluntative (in most instances), and may be translated by "and let", or "and may", though sometimes the imperfect with simple waw merely continues the preceding volutative as a pure jussive, cohortative or imperative, e. g. "Become thou a thousand myriads, and let thy seed possess the gate of those hating them", Gen. 24 60; "Let the Lord God of your fathers add to you a thousand times as (many) as you are, and may he bless you etc.", Deut. 1 11; "Send out (thy) lightning and scatter them", Ps. 144 6.

The second class of cases, also after the same verbal forms as above, may be translated by "then". By this is meant, not simply sequence, by which one act follows another, as that seems to be the original use of the consecutive form, but rather it is the use of "then" in the sphere of result, e. g. "Sojourn in this land, and (then) I will be with thee", Gen. 26 3. Many of these cases might well be classed as conditions, in fact it is difficult to draw the line between this usage and the conditional one. For example, Driver calls the imperative in the sentence given, a "hypothetical imperative".

The third class, after the same verbal forms as before, may be translated by "that", and sometimes by "so that". That is, as has been said, the imperfect with simple waw "furnishes a concise and elegant expression of purpose". To this might have been added "result" as well. At least, it seems best to class the two together here. Examples are: "Let down thy pitcher, I pray, that I may drink", Gen. 24 14; "And let thy mercies

come unto me etc., so that I may answer those who reproach me etc.", Ps. 119 41–42.

As indicated above, to these three general usages after verbs, may be added a fourth, which seems to be more frequently found after forms not distinctively voluntative. This usage we may call "synonymous", or "intensive", in poetry, one might almost call it "parallelistic", as it occurs so frequently there. Here there is an evident intention to emphasize individual acts or ideas, or, as some grammarians put it: "emphasis by repetition", or, "fulness of expression", e. g. "I will apportion them in Jacob, and scatter them in Israel", Gen. 49 7. In referring to this class we shall use the term "intensive", as many of the cases can hardly be called "synonymous".

Possibly somewhat related to this group is the "concomitant" usage, occasionally expressed by the infinitive with ל, cf. לאמר. e. g. "He worships, and bows down, and says . . . ." = "while saying", or simply, "saying", Isa. 44 17.

Closely related to the "then" usage, mentioned above, in fact, an extension of that usage (if that can claim priority), is the use in conditional sentences to introduce the apodosis, e. g. "If he hold back the waters, then they dry up". Job. 12 15a. Then, as in the case of any strictly coordinate function of the waw, it may be used to introduce a second apodosis, e. g. "If I have rewarded evil—(then) let the enemy pursue my soul, and (let him) overtake etc." Further, the waw may be used, instead of the particle, to introduce a second protasis, e. g. "And (if) he send them forth, they overturn the earth", Job. 12 15a. Further, the simple waw may be used in what are known as the "double waw" forms, in what are sometimes called "relative conditional sentences", e. g. ". . . and we will worship, and we will return to you" = ". . . and when we (shall) have worshipped, we will return to you", Gen. 22 5a, 5b.

What has been said of conditional sentences, applies also, in the main, to concessive sentences, (i. e. with "though", "notwithstanding" etc.).

We also find the imperfect with simple waw used in causal clauses ("because", "therefore" or "for"), and that even after perfects as well as after imperfects, as in Prov. 1 31, . . . "they

despised my reproof, therefore they shall eat of the fruit of their way".

It has already been noted that imperfect with simple waw may be used to introduce a second protasis or apodosis. Likewise, it may be used to introduce a second question, a second negative clause in which the negative is omitted, a second adversative or concessive clause, a second subordinate form after an optative, or even a second imperfect of past time, when customary action is implied. This follows from the coordinate function of the simple waw. Examples will be given in the lists.

Then there are some cases in which a speaker or writer, after speaking of surrounding circumstances or conditions, suddenly breaks off and utters a wish or prayer, e. g. "And now I counsel thee to listen to me, and may the Lord be with thee", Ex. 18 19.

There are a number of cases of the adversative usage, e. g. "A true witness saves lives, *but* he who utters lies is (causes) deceit", Prov. 14 25.

Again there are cases in which the simple waw and imperfect are used in what is known as "verbal subordination", e. g. "that they may learn and fear the Lord" = "learn to fear", Deut. 31 12.

There are some cases of the simple waw taking the place of a particle (conjunction etc.), after an imperf. following such particle, e. g. after למען, כי, על־כן, אף etc. Driver thought such cases relatively rare; however, they are worth noting as part of the coordinate usage.

The simple waw may also appear in many cases where there is no apparent continuance of a preceding verb, e. g. "that" is used after a question, "Who is wise, and he will understand these things"? = "Who is wise, that he may understand these things"? (in this case, as in others of the same type, the imperfect is a voluntative), Hos. 14 10.

The simple waw is also found after a negative, e. g. "God is not man that he should lie", Num. 23 9. "That" is also found after an optative expression, e. g. "Would that my words were written", Job. 19 23.

Again we have simple waw after time determinations, e. g. "In the morning, and the Lord will show" = "In the morning

(then) the Lord will show", Num. 16 5. Driver is inclined to call this the apodotic waw, also used after the "casus pendens". One might compare this with the time determination of past time, in Gen. 22 4: "It was on the third day that Abraham lifted up his eyes" (the impf. consec. is used here).

The great majority of the cases in the Pentateuch and the historical books come under the first three heads, or slight variations of the same, but as there is considerable variation among the books, it has been deemed best to take up the books separately.

The letters a, b, c, d etc, indicate the first, second, third etc, occurrence, of the imperfect with simple waw in any given verse.

Often two cases are given as following a single form (such as an imperative), when, in reality, the second is merely coordinate to the first.

GENESIS

Of the "coordinates" we find: 1 6, 9, 26 9 27a, 27b 20 7 24 51, 57, 60 26 28 27 29a, 29b 28 3a, 3b 4 30 3a 31 37 33 12a, 12b 35 3a, 3b 37 13, 20a, 20b, 27 41 33, 34, 35a, 35b 42 16a 48 16a, 16b. Of the "then" cases we have: 12 2a, 2b, 2c, 3 17 2a, 2b 18 5, 30, 32 19 20 24 3 26 3a, 3b, 29 27 30 28 31 3 32 10 34 12 35 3c 37 20c 42 20, 34 43 8a, 8b 45 18 47 16. Of the "that" cases as above, i. e. in a declarative sentence after a verb: 18 21 19 5, 32a, 32b, 34 23 4, 9, 13 24 14, 49, 56 27 4, 7a, 7b, 9, 21, 25, 31 29 21 30 3b, 25, 26 34 23 38 24 42 2 16b 43 8c 44 21 45 28 46 31a, 31b 47 19a, 19b 48 9 49 1. One interesting case in the last group is 27 25, where the first verbal form following the imperative is a cohortative with waw, and the second verb, instead of having simple waw, has the particle למען before it, at least suggesting that the two constructions are interchangeable. Cf. the other possibility in vs. 7a, 7b, of this chapter. In 13 9a and 9b we have simple waw in the apodosis of two conditions. Of the "double waw" form in a relative condition we have 22 5a, 5b, and 50 5a and 5b. One of a similar type, but abbreviated, seems to be in 27 41, but instead of saying: "When the days of mourning for my father come", he says: "The days of mourning for my father draw near, and (then) I will kill etc." (or simply, "then I will kill"). In 43 4 we have a second apodosis, and in 49 7 the "intensive"

or synonymous usage. In 9 26 27 28, we have the "and may", or "and let" usage in a wish or petition. In 34 21a, 21b, we have the causal use = "therefore", cf. Ges.-Kautzsch, § 158. It is possible that the simple waw in 22 17, repeats the כי at the beginning of the verse, but perhaps it is better to take it as = "so that", after the strong determination expressed in the verbs earlier in the sentence.

EXODUS

In the "coordinate" class we find: 3 10 4 18a 14 12 24 7 32 10a 35 10. "Then", 8 4b 9 28 14 17b 20 16 24 12 32 10c. Of the "that" type we have: 2 20 3 3, 18 4 18b, 23 5 3, 9 6 11 7 16, 19 8 4a, 4c, 16 9 1, 13, 22 10 3, 7, 12a 12b, 17, 21 11 2 14 2a, 2b, 4b, 15, 16, 26 17 2 27 20 32 10b 33 5, 13. There is a case of the "intensive" or synonymous usage in 19 13. In 12 3 we have the use after a time determination = then. And in 14 4a there is a case of "then" after the perf. consec. which latter may be translated: "to the end that he may pursue etc., and (then) I shall be honored". In 14 7a we have a case of "that" after a participle preceded by הנה (futurum instans), perhaps expressing the strong determination of the speaker. In 2 7 there is a case of "that" after a question. The causal usage, "therefore", appears in 15 2a, 2b 18 19 is a case of "and may" in a wish or prayer. The two cases, 26 24 and 28 28, in the directions for making the ark and ephod, seem to defy classification. In the first case the Samaritan has the impf. without waw, and in the second, the imperfect with waw, while the LXX has *καί* and the third sing. fut. in the first case, and *καί* and the second sing. fut. in the other. The Hebrew has the third plural in both cases. The first case follows what might be considered an imperative imperfect, and the other case has what might be considered an equivalent of the same (a consec. perf.), hence it is possible to translate "so that"; in any case, the usage is quite abnormal.

LEVITICUS

Of the "that" cases we find: 9 6 24 2. In 15 24 the waw introduces a second protasis. In 26 43 the waw is in a sort of

apodosis, in a relative condition: "When the land shall be forsaken, then it shall enjoy . . . ."

NUMBERS

Of the "coordinate" cases we find: 6 24, 25 26 10 35a, 35b 14 4 23 3, 10 24 7a, 7b. Probable "then" cases are 16 21 17 10 21 16, though some prefer to translate these cases by "that"; however, an appeal seems to be made to the parties, and then the result of acquiescing follows. Of the "that" cases we have: 5 2 9 8 11 13 13 2 17 2 25 18 2a, 2b 19 2 21 7 22 19 25 4 31 3. "That" may be the translation of the word at the beginning of the verse in 9 2; the word of command is missing. In 16 5 we have what Driver calls an apodosis to a time determination, "In the morning (then) the Lord will show . . . ." Probably in 24 19, we have a case of "and may" in a strong wish, or a prayer. 17 3 is closely related; some would call it a "permissive edict". There is a case of "that" after an oath in 14 21 and one of "that" after a negative in 23 19. 14 12 has a case of the "double waw" with the voluntative, "When I dispossess them, (then) I will make thee . . . ." There is a single case of waw taking the place of a particle before the imperfect, אוּלַי 22 6.

DEUTERONOMY

Of the "coordinates" we find: 1 11 10 11a, 11b 13 3, 7, 14 20 5 6, 7, 8 32 1b, 38 33 6. Of the "then" cases we have: 9 14c 10 2 13 12 17 13 19 20 21 21 32 1a, 7a, 7b. Cases of "that": 1 13, 22a, 22b 3 25 4 10 5 28 9 14a, 14b 31 14, 28a, 28b. "That", after a question, is found in 30 12b, 12c. The simple waw in a second question is found in 12 30 and 30 12a. It is used after a practical equivalent of a time determination in 2 4, i. e. "Just now, as you are passing . . . . (then) they are afraid." There is an unusual case of the adversative in 32 39, at least it suggests a contrast to man's way of thinking, i. e. that the destroyer and the restorer could be the same personality. Yet, the passage might be read: "I kill, and I also make alive." The sentence can hardly be concessive here as in Hos. 6 1b, 1c.

JOSHUA

"Coordinates": 7 3 18 4b, 4c, 4d. Of the "then" class: 18 4e. Of the "that" type: 4 16 18 4a. In 7 9 we appear to have the protasis of a relative condition introduced by simple waw, the apodosis beginning with a perf. consec.

JUDGES

Of the "coordinates" we have: 1 3 4 22 7 3 9 7, 19 16 20 19 6, 9, 11a, 13, 28 20 32. "Then": 6 39 11 6. "That": 6 30 7 4 11 37a, 37b 13 8, 15 14 13, 15 16 25, 26, 28 18 5 19 1b, 22 20 13a, 13b. There is a case of "that" after the optative in 9 29. In 6 9 we should probably read impf. consec., cf. imfps. consec. on either side of it. It could scarcely be an impf. of customary or continued action in past time. In 20 6a, 6b some editions have impfs. consec. Driver classes this as one of a few instances in which the compensatory ḳameṣ does not appear before א, and so calls it the waw "consecutive".

I SAMUEL

Of the "coordinate" type we find: 9 5, 9 11 14a 14 1, 6, 36 17 8 20 11 26 11. Of the "then" class: 11 1 12 3b, 10 14 12 15 25 17 44 25 8a 28 22a. "That" cases are: 4 3a, 3b 5 11 7 3, 5, 8 9 26, 27a, 27b 11 3, 12, 14b 12 7, 17 15 16 17 10 18 21a, 21b 20 29 27 5 28 7a, 7b, 22b 29 4. "That" after a question occurs in 12 3a. Simple waw appears in the apodosis to a rel. condition in 20 4. It is found after a complex condition in 30 15. In 17 46, 47, we have "that" after perfs. consec. expressing strong confidence. 18 17 might be classed as a case of a simple waw after a negative, but the force of the negative does not go over to this member of the sentence, so it is better to take the waw as adversative = but. The waw in 10 15 appears to be the continuation of the impf. introduced by אחר כן.

In 26 22a, 22b the simple waw is preceded by a nominal sentence. Driver calls this waw, waw demonstrative, i. e. "So let etc." A condition is described and then the speaker, with the condition described as a basis for his request or demand, says:

"So let one of the young men come over . . . ." Really, almost the same as the "and may", or "and let", in a petition or request, of which some examples have been given, yet the *request* feature does not seem quite so prominent. Likewise, perhaps in 30 22a, 22b. The petition feature comes out more strongly in 2 10a, 10b 20 13 24 15a, 15b, 15c 25 8.

II SAMUEL

"Coordinate" 2 14 3 21a, 21b 7 26 13 5, 6a, 15 14 16 9, 11 24 22. Of the "then" class: 17 1a, 1b, 2, 3 20 21. "That": 3 21c 13 6b, 10 14 7a, 32 15 7 17 5 18 19 19 27a, 27b, 38 20 16 24 12. In 24 21 the waw follows an infinitive with ל of purpose = that. In 14 7b the woman, in her excitement, gives the result as if it were a part of the purpose. We have "that" after a question in 9 1, 3. 1 10 should probably be an impf. consec., cf. preceding impf. consec. The simple waw introduces the apodosis of a conditional sentence in 12 8. Driver calls the cases in 18 22, 23 examples of the waw demonstrative, and he translates: "Well, come what may", apparently somewhat different from his other example in I Sam. 26 22, yet the background in the present instance is quite similar to the above mentioned petition or request form. In 22 43, perhaps, we have a case of customary past action, "then I used to etc.", and so, probably, in vs. 46 of the same chapter. What we have in 22 47 is really another form of the petition or request form, i. e. a petition after ascribing praise. In 24 3 there is a clearer case of "and may" or „and let" in a petition. Then in 5 24 we have the other side of the matter, in a kind of "permissive edict".

I KINGS

"Coordinates" 1 37, 47 20 31 21 7, 10a. "Then" appears in 13 7 18 1 19 20 20 25 21 2b. "That" is found in 1 2 2 17 5 20 11 21 13 6, 18a, 18b 17 10 18 37 21 2a, 10b. "That" after a question occurs in 12 9 22 7, 20a, 20b. 11 39 seems to be adversative; after enumerating what Jeroboam may expect if faithful, the prophet turns to the fortunes of the Davidic line, apparently by way of contrast. 8 59 is a case of "and may" in a prayer, and 18 23a

is one in a petition or request = "and let". In 14 5 possibly something has fallen out. We should expect something like the following: "And let it be that when she enters disguised, (then) thou shalt say etc.", i. e. the form of a relative conditional sentence. 13 33 may be an apodosis of a relative conditional clause, i. e. "whoever was pleased to consecrate himself, (then) he would become a priest of the high place". Driver, *Heb. Tenses*, § 63, makes it a kind of result "that there might be priests of the high places".

In 18 5 we have simple waw after אוּלַי and an impf., the same construction occurs after this particle and the perfect stative in 18 27. 22 6 is usually taken as "then", i. e. "Go up, and (then) the Lord will give etc." Judging from the attitude of Jehoshaphat, and even of Ahab himself, one might be led to ask whether or not the imperfect and simple waw might be ambiguous here, i. e. = "and let", or "and may". However, in the case of Micaiah's answer to the same question, as given in II Chron. 18 14, the same construction is used, but Ahab immediately perceives the irony in the tone, and adjures the prophet to speak nothing but the truth. Nor can we think that the perf. consec. used in verse 15 of I Kings 22, has any very different meaning, even if it is the correct reading. So, on the whole, it seems advisable to take "then" as the better translation in verse 6. Then the uncertainty of the two kings would arise, not from the form of the answer, but from the character of the court prophets.

II KINGS

"Coordinate" 2 16 4 10 5 5 6 2a, 2b 7 4 9a, 6b. "Then": 6 13a, 13b, 19, 22c 18 23 25 24: also a case in 5 10 continuing a perf. consec., which is preceded by an infin. abs., used as an emphatic imperative. Of "that" cases we have: 4 42 5 8 6 17, 20, 22a, 22b, 28, 29 17 27a, 27b, 27c 19 19. "That", after a question, occurs in 3 11, and "that" of purpose, after a perf. in 19 25. "And may", in petition, occurs in 2 9.

We probably have a case of the double voluntative in a conditional relative sentence in 4 22a, 22b, and in 7 12, the apodosis of a relative conditional clause after כִּי. In 3 27 most

editions have impf. consec. If we should read simple waw, perhaps we should translate "then", or "so that", cf. König, *Syntax*, § 364b. In 7 13 we have a case like that of I Ki. 18 23, the first waw and impf. = "and let", in a wish or petition, then the other cases in the verse are coordinate to 13a. In 22 4, 5a, 5b, with the present text, we have what is practically the coordinate usage, i. e. "Go up .... and have (let) him .... and let .... and let ...." 19 23a, 23b may be cases of "that" after a perf., though they may be impfs. of customary action in past time. In the former case, one could say that the impf. and simple waw had begun to be a stereotyped form to express purpose, such as we shall find in later books. The case for "that" after a perf. is more clear in 19 25. In 19 24 the use of the perf. consec. ושתיתי makes it seem probable that both it and the preceding perf. are used of repeated action in the past, then the next verb, in poetical usage, is used in the imperf. to express what is the speaker's intention for the future, or it may be that after boasting of the previous deeds performed, the speaker changes and would say: "Since I did all these things, I will also dry up etc." Or, to put it more strongly, "Because I did all these things, therefore I will etc."

ISAIAH

In Isaiah the classification becomes more difficult, because of the complex situations presented. It is not easy, for instance, to distinguish between the "then" and "that" usages after verbs. Then, as suggested in the notes on II Kings, some of the usages of the simple waw have become somewhat fixed, and we find them more and more after the perf. The doubtful cases are also more numerous than in the earlier books, as will be seen by the classification.

Of the "coordinates we have: 1 18 2 3a, 5 5 19a, 19b 7 6a, 6b, 6c 13 2 14 13 18 4 25 9b 26 11 35 1a, 1b, 2 38 21a 41 22a 43 9a[1] 45 8

[1] The classification of 43 9a is given on the basis of considering נקבצו, preceding, as an imperative, as Kautzsch does (so Ewald, Olshausen, Hitzig and Delitzsch; Driver and Davidson doubtful; probably Dr. Buttenwieser would call it a precative perf. cf. a recent paper of his on the subject. König calls it a perf.).

47 13 50 10 55 7a 56 12. Of the "then" cases we have: 1 26 8 10 (ironical) 36 8 43 9d 44 16a, 16b 45 24 46 7a, 7b 55 3b, 7b 58 9 59 19. The "that" cases are: 2 3b, 3c 5 19c 26 2 35 4 37 20 38 21b 41 22b, 22c, 23a, 23c, 23d, 25 42 21 43 9b 44 19 46 6 49 20 51 23 55 3a 66 5. "Then" after a perf. appears in 31 2a, 2b (text?) 41 5, and "that" after a perf. in 8 11 25 9a 37 26 42 6a, 6b, 6c, and possibly in 63 6a, 6b, 6c, (or perhaps "so that"). For 37 24a, 24b cf. the notes on II Kings 19 23. "That" is found after a question in 19 12a, 12b 40 25 41 26a, 26b 46 5a, 5c, and "that" after a negative sentence occurs in 53 2a, 2b. Waw adversative is found in 34 11 (after a negative) 47 9 (after a negative). Possibly also 57 18a, 18b, 18c beginning "yet will I etc." Cases of the "intensive" or synonymous usage are found in 1 29 13 1 3 41 11a, 11b 42 14 44 17a, 17b 45 25 49 18 57 13 59 7. There is a second case of "therefore" in 46 4, and one of "concomitant" action in 44 17c. In 5 29a, 29b, 29c we have a case of "intensive" usage, especially if we read the קרי. However, we may have a triple protasis, with a nominal sentence as apodosis (cf. three of the latter in verse 30).

There are some cases that may be classified as impfs. frequentative of past time: 10 13a, 13b 48 3 57 17a, 17b 63 3a, 3b, 3c. We have examples of an apodosis to a causal clause (therefore): 43 4, 28a, 28b 47 11a (if not "intensive"), 11b. But in 28 26 waw= because. Waw = "or" is found 41 23b 43 9c. Waw and impf. is used in the protasis to a relative condition 41 28a, 28b, and the apodosis is so introduced in 41 28c. Further cases of waw and impf. in the protasis of a relative condition are: 5 30a, 30b, 30c 63 5a, 5b. Another case of an apodosis to a relative condition is 19 20, but here the condition is introduced by כי. A second apodosis is introduced by waw in 58 10. There are examples of a protasis to a concessive clause (though) in 40 30a, 30b, and of a second apodosis to one in 12 1. For 37 25 cf. note on II Kings 19 24. למען and impf. is followed by simple waw in 41 20a, 20b, 20c 43 10a, 10b, and לכן and impf. is followed by simple waw in 1 24, 25a, 25b, 25c.

If the text is correct, we have a coordinate use in 8 2, after impv., "Let me have as witnesses". In 5 6 we have an impf. and simple waw "coordinate" to an infin. abs. for an emphatic imperative. Continued questions are found in 28 24 40 27 42 23

44 7a, 7b 46 5b 55 2 64 11. In 45 24 there seems to be a case of verbal subordination = "come shamefacedly", otherwise, we have to translate "come, and then be ashamed."

Of the "and may" type: 38 16, possibly, "and do thou strengthen me." Driver says of the case in 49 5 that it seems to be used for the sake of variety. Yet, it might be the apodosis to a concessive clause, i. e. "though Israel .... yet, I shall be honored." 49 8a, 8b are probably to be classified with the cases of "that" after the perf. "I did so and so, that I might keep thee...." 64 3 is very doubtful because of the text, and, further, because of the uncertainty of the reference of "them" in בהם. With the present text, the simple waw may be equivalent to "yet", i. e. the apodosis to a concessive clause.

In many of the above instances the commentators and grammarians would emend the text, i. e. would read waw consec. for simple waw, but the classification given above is an attempt to give possible reasons why the Masoretes used simple waw.

JEREMIAH

Of the "coordinate" type we find: 3 25 4 5 5 5 6 4, 5a, 5b 8 14a, 14b 9 17a, 17b 11 19 15 1 18 18a, 18b, 21 31 6 40 15 46 9, 16 48 6 (text?) 51 9. "Then": 7 3 16 19 17 14 20 10a 26 13 33 3a, 3b 38 20a, 20b 40 4, 9 42 12 (cf. preceding jussives). The "that" cases are rare in Jeremiah, indeed, some of the "then" cases above are close to the "that" classification. However, we find the examples 9 16a, 16b 42 3. There is one case of "that" after a perf. 6 27. "That" after a question is found in 6 10b 9 11a, 11b 23 18a, 18b. "That" after a negative sentence is found in 5 28.

Somewhat after the style of the petition or prayer, we have the abrupt change in 13 10, "let them be as this girdle ....." "implying the abandonment of the nation", (cf. Driver, *Tenses*, § 125). Of the "intensive" usage we have: 14 10 18 16 19 8. The case in 3 18 is a second impf. after a time determination, one of Driver's apodotic waws, and 8 1 differs from it only in being the first impf. after the time determination. Examples of an apodosis to a condition are found in 5 1 15 19 23 22a, 22b. "That" is found after an optative expression in 8 23 9 1a, 1b.

Continued questions are found in 3 19 6 10a. The impf. with simple waw occurs in what seems to be a general conclusion in 51 58a, 58b (for the idea expressed cf. Hab. 2 13), perhaps we should translate "so that". A general conclusion of a somewhat different nature appears in 42 17, and we may translate by "thus", with the Revised Version, or by "for", with Coverdale. There is one case following the impf. and כֵּן, 51 46. Following the impf. and אוּלַי are 20 10b, 10c 21 2 26 3 36 7. 10 19 seems to be causal, "therefore", cf. Exodus 15 2.

EZEKIEL

The strictly "coordinate" type was not found. "Then" 24 27 33 31a, 31b; after perf. consec. 13 15 26 21. "That": 2 1 13 11 37 9 43 11.

In 5 14 we have the apodosis to a relative condition, whose protasis is introduced by בְּ and an infin. = "When . . . . . "then" . . . ." Another case of the same kind is found in 47 9. In 43 27 we have a prot. to a rel. cond. "And when are ended . . . . ." 12 12, possibly = "in the darkness, (then) he shall go out", after the style of the simple waw after a time determination, cf. Ex. 12 3. In 14 7, there is a case of a double protasis with waw, "any man soever . . . . . who shall separate himself . . . . . and shall take up into his heart . . . . . I will answer," i. e. if there be any such, I will answer. A somewhat similar sentence is found in 12 25, but with אשר in the protasis and simple waw in the apodosis, also 12 28 (for this indefinite expression cf. I Sam. 23 13), practically equivalent to "If I say (command) a thing, it is done."

למען and impf. is followed by simple waw in 6 6.

HOSEA

"Coordinates": 6 1a 13 11 14 6, 7, 8. "Then": 5 14 6 2 13 8a, 8b. "That": 2 4 6 3b. Of the "intensive" type we have: 8 13 10 6, perhaps also 13 15b. Then 13 15a is perhaps the apodosis, of which the participle is the protasis, i. e. "when it goes up . . . . then it shall dry up . . ." In that case the two would form the

douple apodosis. Another suggestion from the grammarians is to take the "east wind" as a *casus pendens*, then the waws are apodotic. In 4 6 we have the apodosis to a causal clause, "therefore", also perhaps in 14 9. In 6 3 there is a general conclusion, after viewing the situation, "then let us . . . ." In 6 1b, 1b we have examples of an apodosis to a concessive clause (the prot. of one is introd. by כי fol. by the perf., the other prot. has the simple impf.). Apparently כי = though, here, but in 11 10 it has the force of "when", and is also followed by a simple waw. A case somewhat similar to the last one is that of 10 10, but instead of a particle followed by a verb for a protasis, we have an adverbial phrase: "When it is my desire, (then) I will chastise them". "That", after a question, occurs in 13 10 14 10a, 10b. If the text is right, probably 11 4 is frequentative (cf. the freq. at the beginning of the verse).

JOEL

"Coordinate" 4 12. Concomitant action 2 17, "While they say . . . ."

AMOS

"That", 4 1 9 1. "That" after a question, 8 5. Adversative, 5 24 9 10, the alternative use, here = "nor", for "or", see Isa. 41 23b. There is a case of simple waw and the impf. after למען in 5 14.

OBADIAH

"Coordinate", verse 1.

JONAH

"Coordinate", 1 7 3 8. "Then", 1 12. "That", after a question 1 11.

MICAH

"Coordinate", 1 2 4 2a, 11 6 1. "That", 4 2b, 2c. "Intensive", 1 8 7 17. In 7 10 there is a case of the double voluntative and waw in a condition. 7 16 is almost of the same form except that there is but one waw, so, perhaps, we should have classed it as

a "then" case above. 6 14 is the protasis of a relative condition. There is a case of the causal, "because" in 6 16.

NAHUM

No case found.

HABAKKUK

"Coordinate", 2 1a, 1b. "That", only after a negative question, 2 13. Waw after a time determination, 2 3. The "intensive" usage is found in 1 15a, 15b, 16. A second question (negative) is introduced by simple waw in 2 6, 7.

ZEPHANIAH

"Then" is found after a perf. (apparently prophetic) in 2 11. In 2 13a, 13b, 13c we have a double apodosis and a single protasis, "When . . . . . then . . . . . then . . . . . ."

HAGGAI

"Then", 1 8a, 8b.

ZECHARIAH

"Then", 1 3 9 5a, 5b[2] 10 8. "Intensive", 3 2. In 10 6 we have a case of "therefore", cf. Ex. 15 2 (causal). There is another causal = "because", 11 5, preceded by the equivalent of an imperative, though it approaches the "that" usage = "that I am rich." The adversative usage is found in 7 14. If the text is correct, there is a case of the frequentative impf. in 8 10, and that after a perf., or its equivalent. Perhaps we might translate, "For I used to send . . . . ." If the pointing is correct in 10 9, we probably have the protasis of a concessive clause, "though."

MALACHI

Of the "coordinate type we have 1 4b, yet this might be taken as a second adversative, following the adversative 1 4a. "Then", 3 7.

[2] 9 5a, 5b is like Micah 7 16, except that there are two waws following the first statement.

"That", 1 9 3 10. 1 10 is usually translated "that" after a question, but it might be taken as subordinate after an optative expression (if it is such): "Would that there was one among you that would close . . . . ."

PSALMS

"Coordinate" 2 3 5 12c 25 9 27 14 31 4, 25 34 4 35 4b, 26, 27a, 27b 40 15a 15b 45 5 64 11 68 2, 4 69 31 70 3b, 5a, 5b 71 2, 21 72 11, 15b, 15c, 16 17 83 5, 18c 90 17 91 15b, 16 96 11 107 22a. 22b 107 32 109 11, 15, 29 119 15 129 5 138 2 141 5 144 5a, 5b, 6a, 6b[3]. Of the "then" class we find: 2 8 4 4 9 4 18 38 (cf. II Sam. 22 38) 22 27, 28a, 32 27 6a 34 3 37 4 40 4a, 4b 42 5 43 4a, 4b 45 12 50 7a, 7b, 15 51 9 55 7, 20 58 12 67 8 69 32 77 4a, 4b 81 9, 11 86 9a, 9b, 17b 90 14a, 14b 91 15a 102 16 (dependent on vs. 14), 27 104 20, 32 107 42 118 17 119 27, 33, 34a, 34b, 44, 45, 46, 47, 48a, 48b, 74, 77, 88, 116, 117a, 117b, 134, 146, 175 145 19. The "that" cases are: 24 7, 9 41 11 59 14 81 16 (Driver, "so that") 83 17, 19 86 17a 90 12 109 27 119 18, 42, 115, 125, 144. "That" after a question occurs in 107 43a, 43b. "That", after a negative is found in 49 10 (going back to vs. 8, vs. 9 being a parenthesis). Of the "intensive" type, we have: 7 18 9 3 21 10, 14 22 28b 27 6b 31 8 35 4a 26 37 29 40 15a, 17 41 3 52 7 55 3, 18 57 8 66 4 68 4 69 36 70 3a, 5a 71 2 83 4, 18a, 18b 95 6 108 2, 4 118 24 138 7 139 10 145, 1, 2. Beginning a request or petition, "and may", or "and let", we find: 9 10 18 47 59 13, 15a (? cf. vs. 7) 72 8, 15a 19 119 41 145 21. Waw and impf. occur after למען in 78 6, 7, and after פן in 2 12. In causal clauses, we have waw for "therefore", 91 14 118 28 (cf. Ex. 15 2), and for "because", 5 12b 49 9 72 14. Cases in which the reason follows the simple waw and imperf. 4 9 9 11 52 11 86 12 138 5. "For", in parenthesis, occurs in 49 9. In 52 8 there is a case of a double waw in a rel. cond., and perhaps the same in 7 6a, 6b, if these are not simple "coordinates". There seems to be a case of an abbreviated concessive sentence in 59 5, "without guilt (on my part), they run and prepare themselves" (double apodosis), the whole being equivalent to "though I am not guilty . . . . . yet . . . ." There is a case of a second question in 42 3. The adversative

[3] Note in 144 6 the strict continuance of the impv. in the impf.

usage is found in 5 12a 7 10. Imperfs. of customary action (past time) occur in 18 43, probably also in 18 46, cf. parallel passage in II Samuel 22. Verbal subordination, using simple waw and the impf., is found in 57 4 107 20a, 20b (cf. Ges.-Kautzsch, § 120 d, e). Of concomitant action we have: 50 21 59 7, 15b 73 8 77 2 (with ellipsis of the preceding verb) 85 4 (giving heed) 97 3 104 30. In 51 18, we have a case of "so that", or "else", and in 55 13a, 13b, cases of "then", or "else", (cf. Driver, *Tenses,* § 64, on these passages). Both follow negatives. As positives they could be stated in the form of conditions. In 65 5, there is a second verb after a construct with a clause, merely another case of the coordinate function of waw.

PROVERBS

"Coordinate", 1 5 23 25 31 31. "Then" 3 10, 22 4 6a, 6b, 8 9 8, 9a, 9b 16 3 20 22 22 10a, 10b 25 5 29 17a, 17b. "That", 27 11 31 7. "Then", after perf., 22 3 (perf. probably of general truth). Adversative usage, 14 5, 25 15 25. "Intensive", 13 5 19 5, 9. Causal (therefore) 1 31. After impf. and פֶּן, 31 5a, 5b. After impf. and כִּי 9 11 (really intensive).

JOB

"Coordinate", 9 27 21 2. "Then", 6 10a, 10b 12 7a, 7b, 8a, 8b 13 13a, 13b 15 30 18 7, 14 22 19, 27 23 7 24 23 27 21a 30 22 33 33 38 3. "That", 10 20 14 6 21 19 31 6 (really after an optative) 32 20a, 20b. In 38 14, 15[4], 35, we probably have "so that", i. e. they should be classified with "that" above. "That", continuing an infin. of purpose with לְ, is found in 38 13. "That", after a perf., occurs in 16 21. "Then", occurs after a perf. in 34 25, also in 3 13[5], and we seem to have a similar construction in 29 21a, 21b, "they listened for me, then waited and were silent," though the two forms might be of concomitant action, "they listened for me (to speak), waiting in silence." There is a case of verbal subordination in 6 9b, also in 6 9c, and one in 23 3, after a perf. The

[4] In 38 15, "their light" is ironical.

[5] In 3 13, note the actual אז (then) in place of the simple waw, in the following stichos.

frequentative with simple waw is found, after another frequentative of past time, in 29 23, 25a, 25b. One is found after a perf. of experience in 41 21. Of continued questions, we find 3 11 7 21 13 24 15 2, 8 18 4 19 2 21 17 24 25 39 11 40 29. Of the "intensive" type we have: 14 11 15 33 20 8 21 12 27 21b 23 34 20a, 20b 36 15 37 1 39 28 41 16. Then we find the simple waw and imperfect after impf. and כי 13 26, 27a, 27b 15 5 34 37, or אף, 15 4 (or is הֲ omitted as some say?), or על־כן, 22 10, or כי אז 22 26. There is a case of concomitant action in 26 11. "That" after a question occurs in 41 3. There is a continued protasis of a concessive sentence in 20 13, and an apodosis to a concessive clause is found in 17 9. The protasis of a double waw condition occurs in 5 4, and in 10 16a. Both protasis and apodosis occur in 22 28. These are the so-called "relative conditions". The apodosis to an ordinary condition is found in 12 5a 13 19 (i. e. introd. by waw), the protasis being introduced by a particle. In 12 15b, 15c, we have the same construction for the apodosis, but the protasis has waw instead of the particle. Continued apodosis is found in 10 16b, 17 16 4 36 12 and continued protasis in 9 11 11 10a, 10b 14 21 16 6 19 5 31 17 36 11. An apodosis to a rel. cond. (not introd. by waw), is found in 20 23 and 23 15. Of 20 23 we may say that it should be translated: "Let it happen that when he fills . . . . . then let . . . . . " A second rel. protasis occurs in 34 29. A simple waw after an optative = "that", 6 9a 11 5, 6 19 23a, 23b. A second verb after an optative, with waw = "then", 13 5 14 13 23 5. Instances of "apodotic waw" after *casus pendens*, 15 17 35 14. "For" (assigning a reason), 27 22. In 30 26 there seems to be an error in pointing, cf. the preceding parallel stichos, which has impf. consec. It can scarcely be a frequentative.

SONG OF SONGS

"Coordinates" 1 4 3 2 4 16. "That", 7 1, and after a question, 6 1. Possibly 7 9 may be a case of "and let", similar to the usage in a wish, or petition, in other books.

RUTH

"Coordinate", 2 12 3 4 4 12. "That", 2 2 4 4.

LAMENTATIONS

"Coordinate", 3 28, 40a, 40b. "Then", 5 21. "That", occurs after the perf., in 1 19 3 26, possibly, also in 1 21, though it would seem better to read with the Syriac הָבֵא את for הֵבֵאתָ, unless one admits that the Hebrew has a precative perf. (cf. a recent paper by Dr. Buttenwieser). There is an instance of "that" after a question in 2 13, and one of a second protasis in 3 8. In 3 50, we have simple waw after an impf. and עד.

ECCLESIASTES

Here there does not appear to be a strict adherence to the consecutive usage, hence what occurs with simple waw is doubtful. One true "coordinate" is 11 9. Approaching the same usage we have 12 6a, 6b, 6c, after עד אשר and a negative particle followed by an impf.; apparently the three particles are understood as being replaced by the waw. 12 5a, 5b, 5c, appear to be causal clauses, referring to the beginning of the verse. In 12 4a, 4b there appear to be further cases of apodosis to בשפל whose first apodosis is the first part of the verse. In 2 19 we have a form of the adversative, "and yet". 1 18 appears to be the protasis to a second condition. 8 10, as Barton thinks, may be of customary action of past time. In 7 7 there is a case of an impf. after כי.

ESTHER

"Coordinate", 1 19 2 3a, 3b. "That", 5 14. "That", after a question, 5 3, 6a, 6b 7 2a, 2b 9 12a, 12b.

DANIEL

Only the Hebrew portion will be considered. "Coordinate", 1 12a. "Then", 1 13. "Then" after a participle 12 12. "That", 1 12b, 12c. Causal ("for"), probably, 12 4, 13a, 13b; ("therefore"), 9 25a, 25b. "Intensive", 12 10a, 10b. The eleventh chapter of this book is usually set down as defying classification with regard to the simple waw and impf. Yet, where we have so many cases of the perf. consec. along with the impf. and simple waw, the

original writer must have used the different forms with some degree of discrimination, for, in many cases, the impf. consec. is out of the question. Perhaps with König we may take 11 4 as final, "that", or even "so that" (result), so also perhaps verse 22. Possibly the waw at she beginning of v. 5 = "then", going back to the "when" of v. 4, i. e. when all this is fulfilled ..... "then ...." In that case, the next simple waw, in v. 5, according to the Hebrew accents, would be adversative = "but". In 7a, 7b there seems to be an instance of double waw in a relative condition; likewise in 10a, 10b, also in 15a, 15b, and the protasis of another condition is found in v. 16a, the apodosis having a participle. 16b would be a general conclusion following the preceding. At the beginning of v. 11, the waw refers back to v. 10, and = "then". The same may be said of v. 17, as related to v. 16, and the same construction, "then", is continued in vs. 18 and 19. At the beginning of v. 25, we have a protasis of a relative condition. The same may be said of v. 28, but it has no finite verb in the apodosis. In v. 30, there is a case of verbal subordination = "again he shall". Possibly v. 45 also has a protasis to a relative condition. In v. 40 waw probably represents "then". In v. 36a, 36b we have instances of concomitant action.

EZRA

In the Hebrew portion of this book, there are two instances of simple waw, both being "coordinate", 1 3a, 3b.

NEHEMIAH

"Coordinate", 6 2, 7, 10 9 5. "That", 5 2b, 2c. "That" after a participle is found in 5 3. There is an instance of "therefore let", after a statement of conditions, in 5 2a, however, some supply the participle in this passage as in 5 3, thus making the constructions the same. In 2 5 8 15 we have simple waw and the impf. and אשר = "that" (conjunction); simple waw is also used after למען and impf. in 6 13. In 3 14, 15a, 15b we have impfs. of past time, if the text is correct, also in 9 28. In 9 27

the waw is almost "who", though it might be translated "that they might save them".

I CHRONICLES

"Coordinates", 16 31a, 31b 17 24a, 24b 19 13 21 23 22 12, 16. "Then", 13 3. "That", 13 2 21 2 10 22a, 22b.

II CHRONICLES

"Coordinate", 19 11 24 32. "Then", 7 20 10 4. "That", 1 10a, 10b 12 8 16 3 28 23 30 6, 8; after a question, 18 6. Continued protasis, 7 14a, 14b, 14c, 14d. Contin. apod. 7 14e, 14f. Prot. and double apod. 20 9a, 9b, 9c. Additional cases of "that" after a question are 10 9 18 19a, 19b 36 23. "That" after expression of strong desire or wish 29 10. "And let", or "and may", in entreaty or prayer, 18 12. For 18 5 cf. I Ki. 22 6, and for 18 14, cf. I Ki. 22 15. In the latter passage we have וְנִתֵּן instead of impf. pl. Niphal וינתנו of Chron. Waw and impfs. of customary action, 24 11a, 11b, 11c.

THE RISE AND FALL OF THE 'MESSIANIC' HOPE IN THE SIXTH CENTURY

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AS the origin and history of the hope of a personal Messiah are matters of no little importance, and as they still seem to leave room for considerable difference of opinion, it may be worth while to risk treading where others have trodden in order to throw fresh light on the subject by tracing step by step the development of the idea during the sixth century, which was perhaps the most formative period of its growth, although it is probable that the elements in it of permanent religious value did not for the most part develop till later.

The 'Messianic' hope of the sixth century arose in the first place out of the larger and more fundamental hope of the Restoration and Regeneration of Israel which was the burden of the prophecies which followed the destruction of the Judean church and state. But it had an important secondary source also, in a certain prediction current during the time of the monarchy. This prediction is one which promised perpetuity to the then reigning house of Judah, the Davidic dynasty. The earliest form in which we now have it is probably of the seventh century, but in its original form it is probably much earlier, and there is no insuperable reason why it might not have been first enunciated in the time of David himself. It is in 2 Sam. 7 attributed to Nathan the prophet.

> The prediction runs as follows;—Jahveh telleth thee [David] that Jahveh will make thee a house. When thy days be fulfilled, and thou shalt sleep with thy fathers, I will

set up thy seed after thee, which shall proceed out of thy bowels, and I will establish his kingdom.[1] [He shall build a house for my name, and I will establish the throne of his kingdom for ever].[2] I will be his father, and he shall be my son. If he commit iniquity, I will chastise him with the rod of men, and with the stripes of the children of men; but my mercy[3] shall not depart from him, as I took it from Saul, whom I put away before thee. And thy house and thy kingdom shall be made sure for ever before thee. Thy throne shall be established for ever.[4]

This same prediction is found in a somewhat later form in Ps. 89 which in all probability belongs to the beginning of the sixth century. The whole prediction is there somewhat elaborated and the promises of perpetuity in particular are reiterated and emphasized with more hyperbole. As this prediction, which is in the Psalm treated as a covenant believed to be binding on Jahveh, is of first rate importance for our subject, we will quote the greater part of it in this form also.

I found David my servant;
With my holy oil I anointed him . . .
I made a covenant with my *chosen,*
I swear to David *my servant;*
For ever will I establish thy seed,
And build thy throne for all generations . . .
He will call me my Father,
Yea I will make him My first born,
Most high above the kings of the earth.
For ever will I keep my kindness[5] for him,
And my covenant shall be firm for him.
And I will set his seed for ever,
And his throne on the days of heaven.
If his sons forsake my Law,
And walk not in my judgments;
Then will I visit their transgressions with a rod,

1 i. e. the kingdom of the seed. 2 Probably secondary.
3 חַסְדִּי 'my covenant love'. 4 2. S. 7 12–16.
5 The reference is to David. In the earlier form of the prediction, however, the reference was to David's successors.

And chastise their iniquity with stripes.
But my kindness I will not remove from him,
And I will not belie my faithfulness . . .
I will not lie unto David;
His seed shall be for ever,
And his throne as the sun before me.
As the moon shall it be established for ever,
And (forever as) the sky be firm.[6]

Now with regard to this prediction, it should be noted that it is spoken of the historical king David, though not a few expressions in it, especially in the later form, if taken out of their context, seem to have a 'Messianic' ring. 'I will make him my firstborn and high above the kings of the earth', or 'Thy throne shall be established for ever', sound like Messianic prophecies, but are clearly nothing of the kind in their settings.[7] The David then of these passages, though idealized, especially in the Psalm, can be none other than the popular hero. Neither is there any suggestion of a 'Messiah' in the references to his 'seed'. Rather otherwise, the insistence on the probable misdemeanors of David's successors makes this abundantly clear. The 'seed' will apparently deserve Saul's fate[8] and the fate of his dynasty, but for David's sake will be treated leniently and not dethroned.

The forms of the prediction in which we have it show us that the reigning dynasty in Judah had come to be popularly looked upon as sacrosanct. This had come about, partly because kingship was in its own way deemed as mysteriously sacred as priesthood, partly because there had been an unbroken line 'of kings of the same royal family' for so many centuries, and especially because the founder of the dynasty was David, by then much idealized, who was believed to have been under the special protection of Jahveh, which for his sake was also extended to his successors. The royal Davidic succession appears in fact to have come to be regarded before the

[6] Psalm 89 20, 31., 26—33, 35—37.

[7] Five other instances.

[8] These references to the sins of the later kings of the Davidic house must almost certainly emanate from a period when the kings of Judah had given evidence of a very different spirit from David's.

close of the monarchy with as much veneration as is accorded to the Apostolic succession in the Roman Catholic Church; and a doctrine of its unbreakable perpetuity had come to hold a place, in some quarters at least, more or less parallel the doctrine of the Inviolability of the Temple, which Jeremiah combatted so strenuously. Both doctrines were among the chief articles of the popular faith.

The greater prophets do not appear to have shared the belief in either the sanctity or the divinely guaranteed perpetuity of the Davidic house. Isaiah, for example, showed no special reverence for the Davidic succession, but on the contrary plainly indicated that he regarded it as a degenerate stock that had outlasted its usefulness. 'Hear ye now', he said, 'O house of David; is it a small thing for you to weary men that ye will weary my God also?'[9]

Jeremiah likewise ran counter to the belief, and definitely prophesied Jahveh's final rejection of the dynasty of David as such.

> Thus saith Jahveh, behold I will fill all the inhabitants of this land, even the kings that sit upon David's throne[10] and the priests &c. with drunkenness . . . I will not pity . . . that I should not destroy them.[11]

Even more specific is Jeremiah's prophecy with regard to Coniah (Jehoiachin) the last king of the Davidic dynasty to sit in his own right on the throne of Judah.[12]

> As I live, said Jahveh, though Coniah the son of Jehoiakim king of Judah were the signet upon my right hand, yet would I pluck it thence: . . . write ye this man childless, a man that shall not prosper in his days: for no man of his seed shall prosper sitting upon the throne of David and ruling any more in Judah.[13]

Ezekiel speaks in like manner with regard to Zedekiah though after his manner more obscurely.[14]

9 Is. 7 13. 10 Lit. for David upon his throne.

11 Jer. 13 13; cf. Jer. 22 1 seq.

12 Zedekiah his uncle who followed him was not king in his own right, but a vassal prince of Nebuchadnezzar's.

13 Jer. 22 24, 30. 14 Ezek. 17 9; 19 11, 14.

In accord with Jeremiah's prophecies, one of the results of Nebuchadnezzar's conquest was then the shattering for the time being at least of the legend that any special divine protection and sanctity belonged to the Davidic line as such. Holy Temple and Sacred Dynasty were both overthrown and destroyed, the latter irrevocably.

In spite, however, of the doom spoken by Jeremiah, and of the disastrous and shameful record of so many of the later Davidic kings, which had anything but endeared them to their people, there came a time when men began to dream of the restoration of the dethroned and degenerate royal race, and the discredited prediction of dynastic perpetuity took a new lease of life, and began again to exercise its influence on men's minds.

This revival of royalist hopes, however, did not take place for some time and then arose very gradually.

For a time, indeed, hope of any kind seemed dead in the hearts of the ruined and exiled people, who had before the final destruction of their state deluded themselves so often with false hopes.

Ezekiel was the first prophet who pierced through the darkness which shrouded his fellow exiles, and caught the first faint gleam of a new day which God had in store for them.

His new message was in its earlier stages a gospel of the resurrection for his nation and church, which was not only dead, but even disintegrated. The nation would be brought back to life and its scattered members gathered together and welded into a new unity.[15]

With this thought of 'Resurrection' was combined the promise of Return. In chapter 34, Ezekiel pictured Israel as a flock of scattered and lost sheep, and prophesied that they would be searched out and gathered together and led back to their own land. The point to be specially noted here is that in this prophecy Jahveh is represented as promising to be Himself the agent for the Restoration of his people to their own land. It is he who is to be the Champion and the Deliverer, the Good Shepherd of his flock.

[15] Ezek. 37.

v. 11. Behold *I myself* will seek for my flock, and search them out.

v. 12. As a shepherd searches for his flock on the day when his sheep are scattered in the day of cloud and darkness;

v. 13. I will gather them from the lands and bring them into their own habitable land . . . *I myself* will be the shepherd of my flock . . .

v. 20. Behold *I myself* will judge between the fat sheep and the lean sheep.

The fact is stressed that it is Jahveh himself who is to shepherd his people. In the earlier part of the prophecy it is made clear why this is necessary. Jahveh himself had to shepherd his people 'because there was no one [else] to shepherd them' (v. 7). 'My flock was scattered because there was no shepherd' (v. 4). Jahveh had appointed shepherds as his agents, but they had been false to their trust. ('Ye have eaten the milk and clothed yourselves with the wool, ye have killed the fatlings, but my flock ye have not fed' (v. 3). My shepherds cared not for the flock, but the shepherds fed themselves.')

Consequently Jahveh would no longer leave these shepherds in charge of his flock, but would himself act as shepherd. — 'I will cause them to cease from tending my flock. No more shall the shepherds feed themselves, for I will rescue my flock from their mouths (v. 10). I myself will seek for my flock &c. (v. 11) and feed them (v. 14).

The shepherds referred to are the rulers of Israel, more particularly the line of kings to whom God had entrusted the care of his people, but who had miserably betrayed their trust and had battened on their flock instead of living for it.

In effect Jahveh is represented as saying, Instead of kings who betrayed you and failed you, ye shall have Me. Instead of the shattered and discredited monarchy there was to be a theocracy; instead of a kingdom of David, a kingdom of God.

Elsewhere in Ezekiel's prophecies, the same note is struck; Jahveh Himself is to be the agent for the deliverance and restoration of his people.

In the later stages of Ezekiel's prophecies (chapters 40—48, 572 B. C. and after), reconstruction rather than restoration is

dealt with. The prophet sketches out what is perhaps the earliest picture of the Kingdom of God on earth. He as it were drafts an ideal national and ecclesiastical constitution for the Israelite people, when it shall have been restored to its own land.

There is in this prophecy of Ezekiel no hint of the restoration of the monarchy, still less of the former dynasty. Kings are mentioned but not as in the new scheme of things. Rather are they spoken of with contempt, while the ancient practice of using part of the Temple as a burying place for the kings of Judah is accounted as a pollution which must be purged away, although in all probability the honoured remains of David and Solomon, to mention no others, had been among those which rested there.

> 'The house of Israel shall no more defile my holy name, neither they, *nor their kings*, by their whoredom, and *by the carcasses of their kings* . . . Now let them put the carcasses of *their kings* far from me, that I may dwell in the midst of them for ever.'[16]

Jahveh is to be enthroned in the new Jerusalem, and is evidently to be the sole King of Israel.

> (Behold the glory of Jahveh filled the house . . . And I heard one speaking to me out of the house . . . Son of Man, this is the place of my throne.)[17]

Provision is however made by Ezekiel in his ideal scheme for a civil administrator called a 'Nasi' (נָשִׂיא). The title of 'king' is carefully withheld from this person. The word 'nasi' means a chief or leader, or ruler. It may be translated 'prince' as here in the English Bible; it could be used to describe a king, but it is normally used for persons who have no possible claim to royalty of any kind, e. g. 'These are they that were called of the congregation, the princes (נְשִׂיאֵי) of the tribes of their fathers.'[18]

Even of this 'prince' Ezekiel is most suspicious, and he does his best to safeguard the people against any encroachments on the 'prince's' part. As far as possible the prince is to be prevented from taking undue advantage of any privileges that

[16] Ezek. 43 7, 9. [17] Ezek. 43 5, 6. 7. [18] Numb. 1 16.

may accrue to his position. He is to have an estate assigned to him with which he must rest content. He must in no wise filch land from his fellow-subjects, the people of God. 'As for his inheritance, it shall be for his sons. Moreover the prince shall not take of the people's inheritance to thrust them out of their possession: he shall give inheritance to his sons out of his own possession, that my people be not scattered every man from his possession.'[19]

In the same connection, those who will hold this position of 'prince' in Israel are sternly warned against the besetting sins of rulers, injustice and oppression.

'And no more shall my prince (נְשִׂיאִי) oppress my people . . . *Let it suffice you*, O princes (נְשִׂיאֵי) of Israel; remove violence and spoil, and execute judgment and justice; take away *your exactions* from my people, saith Jahveh God. Ye shall have just balances' &c.[20]

It is perfectly clear that Ezekiel has no thought of pourtraying a 'Messiah', in the technical meaning of the term, in his description of this functionary who was apparently necessary to the nation's life but liable to abuse his position. Nothing could be less inherently sacred, or noble, or heroic, than this person. He is neither a divinely anointed King, nor a heaven-sent Deliverer. His most exalted function was to make due provision for the upkeep of the Temple worship. ('It shall be the 'prince's' part to give the burnt offerings and the meal offerings &c. He shall make the sin offering and the meal offering and the burnt offering.')[21]

Nevertheless it did not take many stages for this vague official to be transformed into a Deliverer and King, essential to the Restoration of Israel and to the setting up of the Kingdom.

What is probably the next stage in the development towards a 'Messianic' hope is represented in a section of a Restoration prophecy inserted in the book of Jeremiah.[22] Ezekiel's constitution had provided for a civil governor in the restored community, but in any case Judea was at that time ruled over by

19 Ezek. 46 17, 18. 20 Ezek, 45 8, 9, 10. 21 Ezek. 45 17; cf. also 46 4 &c.

22 2 Jer. 30 16–22. The passage follows directly upon a prophecy of irrevocable doom which is probably a genuine utterance of Jeremiah's.

a Babylonian governor or prince. Ezekiel had not specifically said that the 'prince' should not be of foreign blood, though this might have been inferred from the stress laid on the Temple being kept free from the service of aliens. This prediction specifically safeguards this point, declaring that the prince will be of Hebrew stock.

> 'I will turn again the captivity of Jacob's tents . . . their prince shall be of themselves, and their ruler shall proceed from the midst of them: and I will cause him to draw near, and he shall approach unto me'.[23] The 'drawing near' &c. probably had reference to the functions of the prince in connection with worship and the Temple sacrifices.

It should be noted however that the word here translated 'prince' is not נשיא but אַדִּיר[24] so that one cannot be quite certain that we have here a definite reference to Ezekiel's 'prince' as such.

In any case, however, we have here the title of king carefully avoided as in Ezekiel and the prediction that when the Jews are restored to their own land they shall have a ruler of their own race instead of having their affairs administered by a governor of alien stock. It should further be noticed that there is here no suggestion of the restoration of the fallen royal family, still less of the advent of a 'Messiah'.

Sometime after these hopes had been aroused, though how long after it is impossible to say, the belief in the perpetuity of the Davidic dynasty, which had seemed to have been shattered once for all, began to revive again, in spite of the fact that the predictions with regard to it had been falsified by events as well as solemnly contradicted in Jeremiah's prophecies.

There are few things harder to kill than romantic and pious loyalty to a dethroned royal family. Of this our own experience of the Stuarts is sufficient evidence. Past tyrannies and shortcomings are readily forgotten, and the representatives of the race are invested with a glamour that hides their defects, tends to their idealization and makes their restoration to the throne

[23] Jer. 30 18.

[24] lit. 'Majestic'. The word, when used as a title, normally refers to nobles rather than to royal persons or kings.

seem desirable above all else, a task worthy of God himself, a sacred duty for men. So it seems to have been towards the Davidic house, among a certain section at least of the Jews. In any case men began to dream of the restoration of the fallen fortunes of their late royal family and to refurbish the discarded predictions.

There is an important group of 'prophecies',[25] attributed, quite wrongly, to Jeremiah, which are representative of this phase. They are really amplifications of certain elements in the original perpetuity predictions.

In the first of these, the point that is chiefly emphasized is that the descendants of David will never be allowed to die out, and on the contrary they will be multiplied as the sand of the sea, so that there should never be lacking an heir to David's throne.

> 'Thus saith Jahveh: If ye can break my covenant of the day and my covenant of the night . . . then may also my covenant be broken with David my servant, that he should not have a son to reign upon his throne, and with the Levites the priests my ministers. As the host of heaven cannot be numbered, neither the sand of the sea measured: so will I multiply the seed of David my servant, and the Levites that minister unto me.'[26]

There is also the implication here that, just as it was considered profanation for any others than those of Levitical descent to act as priests, so it would be profanation for any other than a descendant of David to sit on David's throne.

The next of these predictions betrays the conviction that the fortunes of the chosen people were inextricably bound up with

[25] Jer. 33 14–26. This is a collection of four kindred but distinct Messianic or rather royalist predictions. The collection is omitted entirely by the LXX. The outlook and phraseology (e. g. the expression 'the Priests the Levites') do not however point to any later date than the sixth century. So it would seem to be a case of omission rather than of non-interpolation on the part of the LXX. Motives of political caution would be sufficient to account for its suppression. It is to be noted that it is in prose not in poetry like genuine Jeremianic oracles.

[26] Jer. 33 19–22.

the fortunes of the Davidic dynasty. The restoration of the one involved the restoration of the other. It voices the hope of such restoration, The covenant believed to have been made with David is evidently the basis of this prediction also.

> 'Thus saith Jahveh: If my covenant of day and night stand not, . . . then will I also cast away the seed of Jacob and of David, my servant, so that I will not take of his seed to be rulers over the seed of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, for I will cause their captivity to return, and will have mercy on them.'[27]

By far the most important of these predictions is the one we have left to the last. For in it we find a combination of Ezekiel's 'prince' who should be responsible for the upkeep of the Temple sacrifices[28] with this unlimited succession of scions of David's line.

Not only then was the prince to be of Hebrew stock, but he was to be of the blood royal and there was to be divine provision made for an unending succession of such princes. Apparently also the princes are to be kings.

'Thus saith Jahveh: David shall never want a man (לֹא יִכָּרֵת לְדָוִיד) to sit upon the throne of the house of Israel; never shall the priests the Levites want a man before me to offer burnt offerings and to burn and to make sacrifices continually.'[29]

It should be noted that in none of this group of prophecies is any particular person in view, the main point being the divine provision of a succession of persons suitably qualified as regards pedigree. Also there is hardly a hint of any kind that any of these scions of the house of David will be agents of Jahveh for the restoration of Israel.

In the next stage we find the Nasi (נשיא) as not only a prince of the house of David, but as a personage in the very forefront of the hopes of Restoration and Return. He now appears as the representative of Jahveh in the rôle both of Shepherd and King. In the former capacity he is apparently

[27] Jer. 33 25, 26.

[28] Ezek. 45 17. It shall be the prince's part to give (יהיה לנשיא) the burnt offerings and the meal offerings . . . he it is who shall make the sin offering; cf. also Ezek. 46 24.

[29] Jer. 33 17, 18.

to be the agent of Jahveh in bringing the scattered exiles home to their own land. He is spoken of as 'my servant David', which would seem to mean not merely that he was to be the representative by birth and position of David's dynasty but that his qualities would be akin to those of David the great king of Israel. Even as a David had been needed to deliver his people from their surrounding foes, and to build up and consolidate the original kingdom of Israel, so again a David was needed to build the ancient kingdom anew from its very foundations and to deliver his people from the enemy people who had engulfed them.

The most important passages representing this phase are to be found in Ezekiel. They have been added to his earlier restoration prophecies and now appear as part of them.[30]

[30] The main reasons for judging these passages to be later additions are as follows: (a) It may be taken for granted that Ezek. 34 and 37 are earlier than Ezek. 40—48. The later prophecy introduces the 'prince' who is, as has been seen, a vague person of second rate importance, who is incidental rather than essential to Ezekiel's restoration hopes. In chapters 34 and 37 as we have them now, however, the 'prince' is in the forefront of the picture. Everything seems to depend on him. Next to Jahveh he is the one person essential to the restoration of Israel's hopes and to their welfare in the restored kingdom. It is altogether unlikely that this outstanding David-like personality should in the course of the development of Ezekiel's hopes and plans shrink into the shadowy and subordinate figure of the chief civil functionary sketched in chapters 40—48. (b) In Ezek. 34 in particular, as we have shown above, the whole point of the prophecy is the insistence that Jahveh himself is to be his people's deliverer, their shepherd who will himself gather them from the lands whither they have been scattered and pasture them in their own land. 'Behold I' (הנני) 'Behold I myself' (הנני אני) and 'I myself' (אני) occur again and again throughout the prophecy as if to leave no loophole for misunderstanding. The new order of things is to be the theocracy. The introduction of the thought of David as the one shepherd cuts right across the argument and obscures the main issue. (c) The text of 34 23 is itself suspicious with its extraordinary and unnecessary series of repetitions and its confusion of genders. 'And I will raise up over them *one shepherd* (רעה אחד), and he will *shepherd* them (fem.), namely my servant David (in ordinary prose this should not have been later in the sentence than directly after 'one shepherd'). He it is (הוא) who *shall shepherd them* (masc.), and he it is (והוא) who shall be *to them (fem.) a shepherd*. These irregularities are probably due to more than one attempt

One of the passages is inserted in Ezek. 34, the prophecy we have already discussed in which Jahveh declares that as His agents for the care of Israel had failed Him, He Himself would be personally responsible for the care and oversight of the nation, and would himself deliver them and be their Shepherd. The later addition seems as follows:

> 'And I will set up one shepherd over them and he shall shepherd them, even my servant David: *he* shall shepherd them and *he* shall be their shepherd. And I Jahveh will be their God, and my servant David 'prince' (נשיא) among them.'[31]

It is to be noted that this second David is still to be identified with the 'prince' (נשיא) of Ezekiel's earlier prophecy.

The other of these Ezekiel passages is found in additions to Ezek. 38, the prophecy of the new unity that is to come about between Judah and Ephraim in the Restoration.

> 'And my servant David shall reign (sic Syr.) over them and they shall all have one shepherd (38 24 a) . . . and my servant David shall be their prince (נָשִׂיא) for ever (38 25 c).

These are obvioulsy closely related to the additions in Ezek. 34. Here as there we have 'my servant David' who is to be the shepherd and 'prince' (נשיא). The context shows the further thought that just as the first David unified north and south Israel, so would this second David be the instrument for the re-uniting of the two nations—'they shall all have *one* shepherd.'[32]

There are two other passages which may be grouped with these, which have been added to Hosea and Jeremiah respectively, probably about this same time.

to combine the later addition with the original passage. (d) These last two arguments apply only to the verses in Ezek. 34, but if these are proved to be a later addition the results will apply to the clauses in question in Ezek. 37 inasmuch as they are obviously from the same source. It should be further noticed that in both Ezek. 34 and 37 these David clauses can be removed without leaving any break.

[31] Ezek. 34 23, 24.

[32] If נשיא in v. 25 is deliberate, the words in v. 22 'and one *king* shall be king over them' would appear to be a still later addition. This addition was probably called forth by the clause in the same verse, 'neither shall they be divided into two kingdoms any more at all.'

Both of these similarly introduce David and give him a prominent place in the restored kingdom. It is to be noticed that they now speak of him as king not as prince. They are therefore presumably a little later than the Ezekiel additions. That in Jeremiah runs, 'And they shall no more serve strangers, but shall serve Jahveh their God and David their king.'[33]

The Hosea passage is much to the same effect

> 'Afterwards shall the children of Israel return and seek Jahveh their God and David their king.'[34]

By this time it would appear that attention had gradually come to be concentrated on the particular individual in whose person David's line should be re-established, and who, as began to be expected by some at least, would be in some sort the agent and guarantee of the national restoration and reformation.

A descriptive title applied to this personage which apparently came into general use was that of ṣemaḥ (צמח) (the 'Sprout' or Shoot', RV. wrongly 'Branch'), signifying 'one who should *spring forth* from the stock of David.' What is perhaps the prophetic oracle which coined this title for the hoped-for scion of the house of David is embedded in a restoration prophecy which has found its way into the book of Jeremiah.[35]

> 'Behold the days are coming, is Jahveh's oracle, when I will raise up for David a *righteous* ṣemaḥ and he sall *reign as king* (מָלַךְ מֶלֶךְ) and deal wisely; and shall execute justice and righteousness in the land. In his days Judah shall be delivered, and Israel dwell safely. And this is the name by which he shall be called, Jahveh our righteousness.'[36]

Here 'righteous' means the opposite of 'degenerate'. The thought of kingship is by this time emphasized[37] as are also the proper virtues of a king. The ṣemaḥ is not only to be of the

[33] Jer. 30 7, 8.

[34] Hos. 3 5. The reference, to judge by the context, appears to be to North Israel. The words are a 'restoration gloss' on the text 'The children of Israel shall abide many days without king', Hos. 3 4.

[35] Jer. 23 3—8. As it stands it is obviously placed as a correction to Jeremiah's message of doom which precedes. The oracle occurs again in a slightly modified form in Jer. 33 15, 16, where it is omitted by the LXX.

[36] Jer. 23 5, 6. [37] This clause is omitted in Jer. 33 15.

lineage of David but all that a king ought to be. It is evident that his advent is regarded as the prelude of the national deliverance, while the hope is again to the fore that under him the two alienated sections of the Israelite people will be once again reunited.[38]

There are still no extraordinary or supernatural features attributed to this personage. The expectations connected with him are mainly political and royalist. There is certainly no suggestion that he is some mysterious figure foretold in ancient prophecy and hoary oracle. The only prediction with which he is evidently connected is, as has been shown, the prediction that the Davidic House would never be dethroned.

The attempted identification of the ṣemaḥ, with whom the hopes of Restoration seemed to be so closely connected, appears to have been the last stage in this chapter of the history of the 'Messianic' hope.

As has long been recognized, expectation seems for a time to have centred on Zerubbabel, the son of Shealtiel, son of Jehoiachin, the last legitimate king of Judah, who had sat on David's throne as king in his own right in virtue of being David's heir.

It had been the person of Jehoiachin in whom David's line had been dethroned and of whom Jeremiah had prophesied that though he were the *signet* (חותם) upon the right hand of Javeh, yet Jahveh would pluck him thence.

The hope now arose that in the person of Jehoiachin's grandson and heir of line, Jahveh was about to reverse the doom pronounced on his House. This is clearly seen in Haggai 2 23. 'In that day ('tis the oracle of Jahveh of hosts) will I take thee, o Zerubbabel my servant, the son of Shealtiel ('tis the oracle of Jahveh), und will make thee as a *signet* (חותם), for I have chosen thee ('tis the oracle of Jahveh).[39] The triple נאם יהוה ('tis the oracle of Jahveh) is probably intentional and meant to emphasize the verity of the asseveration.

From Zechariah it appears that Prince Zerubbabel was def-

[38] In the parallel passage Jerusalem is substituted for Israel.

[39] Jer. 22 24 30 and see above.

initely recognized as the ṣemaḥ and that an attempt was actually made to re-establish the Davidic Monarchy by crowning him, and thus to compass the Restoration of Judah, and bring in the new era of peace, prosperity and righteousness.

'Behold I am about to bring forth my servant the ṣemaḥ, for behold the stone that I have set before Joshua, upon one stone[40] are seven facets (lit. eyes): behold, I will engrave the engraving thereof, saith Jahveh of hosts, and I will remove the iniquity of the land in one day. In that day, saith Jahveh of hosts, ye chall each invite his neighbour under the vine and under the fig tree.[41]

It may be that the stone spoken of was a heptahedral seal or signet, engraved after the manner of Babylonian seals. The reference might then very well be to Zerubbabel as the seal of Jahveh.

The second Zechariah passage with the emendations now generally accepted, crucial though it is, need only be quoted as it has so offen been thoroughly discussed.

'Take from them of the captivity . . . silver and gold, and make a crown,[42] and set it on the head of Zerubbabel[43] the son of Shealtiel. Thou shalt say to them,[44] Thus saith Jahveh of hosts, Behold the man whose name is the ṣemaḥ, and he shall grow up (יצמח) out of his place, and he shall build the Temple of Jahveh . . . and he shall bear the glory (i. e. royal majesty), and shall sit and rule upon his throne: and he (i. e. Joshua) shall be a priest by his right hand,[45] and the counsel of peace shall be between them both. And the crown shall be for a memorial in the temple of Jahveh.[46]

After this episode Zerubbabel disappeared from history, and royalist hopes from prophecy, if indeed they had ever had a legitimate place there. Isaiah 40—66, which is probably in the main later than Haggai and Zechariah, has no place for a Davidic prince or king in its glowing pictures of Return and Re-

[40] מְפַתֵּחַ פְּתֻחָה cf. Ex. 39 מְפֻתָּחֹת פִּתּוּחֵי חוֹתָם. [41] Zech. 3 8—10.
[42] M. T. 'crowns'. [43] M. T. Joshua the son of Jozadak the high priest. [44] M. T. 'him', but LXX 'them'. [45] M. T. And he shall be (or there shall be) a priest upon his throne.
[46] Zech. 6 12—14.

construction. There, exactly as in Ezekiel, it is Jahveh himself who will shepherd his people home, it is Jahveh himself who will be all that Israel can desire as King.

Only in one passage in II Isaiah, a passage which is almost certainly later than the sixth century, is there any reference to any hopes based on the Davidic 'covenant'. 'I will make an everlasting covenant with you, even the sure mercies of David (חסדי דויד). Behold I make thee[47] as a witness to the peoples and commander to the peoples. Behold thou shalt call a nation that thou knowest not, and a nation that knew thee not shall run unto thee because of Jahve thy God'.[48]

It is evident that the prophet holds that the members of the Davidic House as such have been disinherited, that he puts their claims out of court and recognizes the servant nation as heir to the grace of God of which there had been such abundant promise in the grace bestowed on his faithful servant David.

There are two other important passages, Is. 9 1–7, ('Unto us a son is given' &c.) and Is. 11 1–10 ('There shall come forth a shoot out of the stock of Jesse' &c.), to which reference must be made since not a few critics assign them to some time towards the close of the Exile. One of the principal reasons for this dating is that they, like the series of predictions we have just examined, presuppose the downfall of the Davidic dynasty and predict that Jahveh is about to raise up a worthy successor to David.

There are various considerations, however, which make it difficult to accept this dating. Some of these objections may be broadly stated as follows. The two prophecies are of a totally different quality from the other royalist oracles and are on an altogether higher level. The only one of these with which they have any true kinship is that of the ṣemaḥ in Jer. 23 5, 6, but even on this they represent an enormous advance. The personage depicted in both of them, although the details are quite different, is an exalted being, endowed with godlike attributes and excellencies, who is almost if not quite superhuman in the perfection of his qualities. The restoration of the monarchy as such,

[47] see Syr.
[48] Is. 55 4, 5.

and especially the reinstatement of the Davidic house, is a side issue. There is moreover no suggestion in either that the king is to be the agent for the redemption of his people. The interest is concentrated on the perfection of the ideal of kingship set forth. If either or both of these prophecies were promulgated before Haggai and Zechariah, it is difficult to understand how these prophets could have connected such a person as Zerubbabel with so exalted and wonderful a being as is depicted in them. On the other hand it is extremely unlikely that there would be a revival, in so noble a form, of any kind of royalist hopes until long after the Zerubbabel fiasco had become a thing of the past, and the memory of it practically obliterated. It seems likely then that both these prophecies belong to a comparatively late post-exilic date.

There is another consideration with regard to Is. 11 1–10 which would seem further to debar a late exilic date, and which has a special bearing on the exilic Royalist aspirations. V. 1 reads, There shall issue a shoot from the stump of Jesse (גֵּזַע יִשַׁי) and a sapling shall spring up from his roots (נֵצֶר מִשָּׁרָשָׁיו). At first sight this appears to be an elaborate way of referring to the ṣemaḥ, while emphasizing the fact that the Davidic house had fallen and that the royal line was well nigh extinct. The picture is of course that of the stump of a tree that had been cut down but whose roots have sprouted again. But the phrase 'branch out of his roots' is found also in Dan. 11 7: 'But from a *shoot from her roots*' shall one stand up in his place וְעָמַד מִנֵּצֶר שָׁרָשֶׁיהָ. The woman referred to is Berenice of Egypt, the 'shoot from her roots' was her brother Ptolemy III. The phrase therefore is used to imply common ancestry, while *excluding lineal descent*. By analogy the shoot from Jesse's roots would signify someone who was *not* a lineal descendant of Jesse, still less of David, but one who had ancestors in common with David's father. How far back the common ancestor was is not indicated. There is nothing in the phrase to show that it might not have been Israel the reputed common ancestor of the whole nation.

This prophecy then, although it presupposes the downfall of the Davidic dynasty, so far from being in accord with the ṣemaḥ

oracle and the other predictions which point to the reinstatement of the house of David, rejects lineal descent from David as a *sine qua non* of the ideal king. If the prophecy is properly Messianic, as seems most probable, it teaches that Messiahship is not dependent on pedigree. If the prophecy should prove to belong to the second century, as Prof. Kennett believes, it might be suggested that here we have a counterpart to the priesthood 'after the order of Melchizedek' which was apparently attributive to Simon the Hasmonean Priest-King in Ps. 110. Simon, though neither of the high priestly succession nor of the blood royal, yet became lawful High Priest, and rightfully sat in David's throne. We would not however press the application of the prophecy to Simon, though in this particular it seems curiously suitable.

The results arrived at in the course of this enquiry into the rise and fall of the Messianic hope during the exile go to conform the theory that *there was no pre-exilic Messianic hope.*

On the one hand we have found the origin and evolution of these exilic expectations completely accounted for otherwise.

On the other hand we have not found in any of the several stages the slightest trace of the knowledge of any previous promises of a Heaven-sent Deliverer or Ideal King that was to come which had been handed down from ancient times. Had any such prophetic promises been known, especially had they the imprimatur of a prophet of such repute as Isaiah, it seems inconceivable that they should not have been obviously basic to these exilic expectations, or at least that they should not have colored the later hopes in some way or other. At it was, the only relevant pre-exilic material at the disposal of the exiles was the thread-bare covenant of David which, as has been shown, was in no proper sense Messianic.

They furthermore point to the fact that there was strictly speaking *hardly any Exilic Messianic hope* either. That is to say, there is almost nothing in all the exilic predictions we have studied which rises appreciably above ordinary constitutional aspirations on the one hand, or superior on the other hand to the fervid dreams of the adherents of any dethroned royal house which it is hoped may one day be reinstated. The hope that

God had in store for his people Someone to come, some Heaven-sent Deliverer, some ideal divinely endowed King, did not develop until a later age. Exactly when and how is difficult to determine. It is probable that this new hope was in some measure suggested by these earlier oracles, the historical background of which had been lost. It is certain that the earlier oracles had the new hope read into them and that they thus in part influenced the form of the real hope of a Personal Messiah.

THE CODE FOUND IN THE TEMPLE

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IN the eighteenth year of the reign of Josiah, 621 B. C., a book of the law was found in the temple. The practically unanimous opinion of adherents of the documentary theory of the Hexateuch, so far as known, is that this book was the Deuteronomic Code, *D*, consisting substantially, according to the usual view, of chapters 5—26, 28 of the book of Deuteronomy.

The Holiness Code, *H*, consists of chapters 17—26 of the book of Leviticus, with perhaps small portions elsewhere. It was in considerable measure a compilation, as the writer evidently used older material. It has been subject to one or more revisions in the spirit of *P*, considerable *P* material having been added, especially in chs. 21—22. It is disputed whether the date of the writing of *H* was somewhat before the exile or during the exile.

It seems strange that the relation between *H* and *D* has received little attention; and also that, so far as known, it has never been held that the code found in the temple was *H*, at least in recent years.

The preferable view seems to be that *H* was written before the exile. Nothing requires or definitely suggests the exile, unless it is Lev. 26 40–45, which may have been a later addition.

The resemblances between *D* and *H* in subject-matter are very great, and the resemblances in language by no means slight, while the general scope and plan of the two are very similar. On the other hand, the language used when dealing with similar subjects often varies greatly in the two, so much that it is evident that the later writer if acquainted with the earlier production,

made use of it in a spirit of freedom. It is perhaps most probable, as it is usually held, that the later writer was not acquainted with the earlier; in which case, however, he must have had intimate knowledge of the sources of the earlier writing.

While the view thus indicated concerning the relation between *D* and *H* affords less definite data for their chronological relation than would be the case if one was considered to be directly dependent on the other, nevertheless such chronological evidence is not entirely wanting. In a considerable number of passages the regulation in *D* is very similar to that in *H* and is in a fuller form, where a comparison indicates that expansion rather than condensation is the characteristic of the later passages. These passages, then, are considered to indicate that *D* depends on the sources of *H*, rather than *H* on the sources of *D*. The following are the passages: Dt. 21 18–21—Lev. 20 9; Dt. 22 9–11—Lev. 19 19; Dt. 22 22–27—Lev. 18 20; 20 10; Dt. 23 19–20—Lev. 25 35–37; Dt. 24 14–15—Lev. 19 13; Dt. 24 19–22—Lev. 19 9–10, cf 23 22; Dt. 25 13–16—Lev. 19 35–36; Dt. 10 18–19—Lev. 19 34; Dt. 28 22—Lev. 26 16; Dt. 28 33—Lev. 26 16; Dt. 28 59—Lev. 26 21; Dt. 28 64—Lev. 26 33.

One passage should be considered at greater length. In the early custom among the Hebrews, it is generally recognized, all slaughter of sheep and cattle was sacrifice, the sacrifice being at the local sanctuaries. Both *D* and *H* recognize the centralization of worship, but in *H* all slaughter is still sacrifice, Lev. 17 1–7, while in *D* non-sacrificial slaughter is recognized, Dt. 12 15, which is also recognized in *P*, as in Gen. 9 3. It is often held that *D* recognizes the non-sacrificial nature of slaughter as a necessary practical result of the centralization of worship, later *H* attempted to restore the earlier strictness on this point, but unsuccesfully as evidenced by *P*. A much more natural view is this, however. *H* first definitely recognized the centralization of worship, but continued with it the older regulation that all slaughter was sacrifice, without particular consideration of the practical side of the matter. Later, when the practical working was apparent, *D* introduced the new regulation concerning slaughter, which then continued to be in force, and is later recognized by *P*.

There are very many passages in which *D* depends upon Jeremiah or the reverse. In many of these there is no clear indication of priority. It is recognized, of course, that the book of Jeremiah has undergone a considerable amount of editorial revision and later additions, especially after the seventeenth chapter. If there were cases where the Jeremiah passage seemed to be dependent on the Deuteronomy passage it might be a question whether the dependence was that of Jeremiah or of the later editor. I find scarcely any of these, however. On the other hand, if the dependence is of *D* on Jeremiah, the question of editorial activity in the book of Jeremiah need not be raised.

In general it may be said, so far as the work of Jeremiah himself is in mind, that any large amount of dependence seems much more likely on the side of *D* than on that of Jeremiah. This is because it seems to me, after careful consideration, that Jeremiah was a man of much greater originality of thought and expression than the writer of Deuteronomy, and he would be particularly unlikely to be materially indebted to the thought and expression of *D* which moves largely in a circle of ideas quite different from his own. The writer of *D*, on the other hand, is undeniably much indebted to other writings, to *BC* and *JE* for both thought and expression, and to the prophets who preceded him for the higher elements of thought in his work.

In the following passages it seems to me that *D* is clearly dependent on Jeremiah, for the reasons assigned in the particular cases. The phrase "under every green tree" is found in Jer. 2 20 3 6, 13, in all of which it is a rhetorical hyperbole, but, from the nature of the thought, appropriate. In Dt. 12 2 it is in a similar connection, but it is a matter of fact statement and the exaggeration is inappropriate. In Dt. 12 11 and in several other passages in Deuteronomy occurs the phrase "to cause his name to dwell there", used in the account of Yahweh's choice of Jerusalem as the place of the central sanctuary. The phrase, in the first person, is found in Jer. 7 12. In itself it is sufficiently appropriate in both cases. It can hardly be thought, however, that Jeremiah would borrow the phrase from *D* and apply it to Shiloh and not use it, immediately after, in reference

to Jerusalem. Jer. 13 11 says of the house of Israel and of Judah: "That they may be unto me for a people, and for a name, and for a praise and for a glory", a smooth Hebrew expression, the language in 33 9 being very similar. Most of the phrase is used in Dt. 26 19, where the Hebrew expression is akward. Jer. 7 33 says: "And the dead bodies of this people shall be food for the birds of the heavens and for the beasts of the earth; and none shall frighten them away", 16 4; 19 7 being similar. In Dt. 28 26 it is said: "And thy [referring to the nation] dead body shall be food unto all birds of the heavens, and unto the beasts of the earth; and there shall be none to frighten them away", the grotesque effect of the use of "thy dead body" in such a personified way being one that could hardly be found except as the result of some special cause, such as borrowing. Dt. 24 1–4 gives the strict rule that when a man's divorced wife has married again and the second husband has died or divorced her the first husband shall not marry her again. In Jer. 3 1, Jeremiah, in order to illustrate the relation of Yahweh to Israel, asks whether this should be done, with no allusion to a regulation upon the point. It seems probable that the regulation of *D*, therefore, is founded upon the passage in Jeremiah, rather than the reverse. Dt. 28 36 seems to be a combination of the expressions of Jer. 9 15 (English 16) and 16 13, being a combination of the thoughts of scattering among the nations and exile to a foreign, unknown, land, resulting in the expression in Dt.: "Yahweh will bring thee—unto a nation that thou hast not known, thou nor thy fathers", "nation" being an unnatural expression where "land" would be expected. Jer. 19 9 says: "And I will cause them to eat the flesh of their sons and the flesh of their daughters—in the siege and in the distress, &c.". Dt. 28 53 says: "And thou [the nation] shalt eat the fruit of thine own body, the flesh of thy sons and of thy daughters, &c." giving a grotesque effect due to borrowing similar to that noted in an earlier passage. Jer. 32 41 says: "Yea, I will rejoice over them to do them good". This appears in an expanded form in *D*, the expansion giving an incongruous effect and indicating that *D* is the borrower, Dt. 28 63: "And it shall come to pass, that, as Yahweh rejoiced over you to do you good,

and to multiply you, so Yahweh will rejoice over you to cause you to perish and to destroy you." In Dt. 13 17 occurs the phrase: "show thee mercy and have compassion upon thee", the Hebrew phrase being the same as in Jer. 42 12. In Jeremiah the thought of mercy and compassion is appropriate, the reference being to deliverance from times of distress under the hand of the king of Babylon. In Deuteronomy the thought is inappropriate, nothing in the context suggesting the need of mercy and compassion.

In the following cases, further, the passages in *D* are expanded from the similar ones in Jeremiah, and therefore quite clearly later: Dt. 28 12—Jer. 10 13 (= 51 16); Dt. 28 52—Jer. 5 17b; Dt. 28 61—Jer. 6 7.

Evidence has been presented thus far to show that *D* is later than *H*, and therefore *D* is probably too late to be the code found in the temple; also that *D* is later than Jeremiah, in which case *D* must be as late as the exile.

At some points *D* presupposes a time as late as the exile or later. The regulation concerning the choice of a king, Dt. 17 15b: "Thou mayest not put a foreigner over thee, who is not thy brother" has seemed unnatural to many. As the king on the throne of Judah from David to the exile was always a Davidic king, such a regulation, if written during that time, seems entirely unnecessary. A possible danger of this kind, it would seem, could only be apprehended when the nation was under foreign dominion, therefore during or after the exile. The only reference in the account of the disasters in Dt. 28 to the king is in v. 36: "Yahweh will bring thee, and the king whom thou shalt set over thee, unto a nation that thou hast not known, &c." This reference to the king in such a connection is not natural if written before the event, but would be natural to one who knew that the king was carried off into exile. In the regulations concerning the administration of justice in *D* the "elders of the city" appear as the ordinary judges. This is in accord with what we know of the preexilic practice. They are mentioned in Dt. 19 12 21 19 22 15–19, &c. Of course the king and his officers were also ministers of justice, the king being the court of final appeal. Of course there was also appeal to the

priests at the sanctuaries for God's decision, but this does not seem ordinarily to have been in the sphere of the ordinary administration of justice. The book of Deuteronomy also shows a tendency, however, to give the priests a marked prominence in civil life, especially in the administration of justice, as in 20 2 21 5 17 8–13 19 17. 17 8–13 and probably 19 17 refer to the constitution of a court of appeal for the country as a whole, including priests. No such judicial activity of priests is known before the exile, in particular the court of appeal is out of harmony with the common practice by which the king himself constituted such court. These regulations might have belonged, as an ideal matter, to the exile, or, perhaps more probably, have been written in the time after the exile when the priests were somewhat prominent in civil life. I am not unmindful of the fact that II Chr. 19 5–11 says that Jehoshaphat constituted a central court of appeal like that in Dt. 17 8–13. But that account is evidently ideal rather than historical, reflecting the conditions of the time after the exile when it was written.

It is a question whether the code introduced by Ezra, Neh. 8—10, was the *P* code, as usually thought, or *D*. The actual points of contact in the account there given are much more numerous with *D* than with *P*, although it does not entirely correspond to either one.

From what has been said thus far, the evidence indicates that *D* was written later than the time of finding the code. That makes it probable that the code found was *H*. It remains to be considered whether the description of the code and the results of its finding, as told in II K., are in accord with *H*.

It is generally agreed that the account of the finding of the code and related matters as given in II K. 22—23 is historically accurate, unless perhaps in minor details which are unimportant for the present purpose. Most of the items here given are sufficiently in accord with either *D* or *H*. The document found is called by the term "book of the covenant" in II K. 23 2–3, 21. *D* is described as "the words of the covenant" in Dt. 28 69 (English 29 1), and the term covenant appears elsewhere in *D*. References to a covenant, implying a description of the code *H* as a covenant, are found in Lev. 26 9, 15, 25, as

well as in v. 42 (three times), 44, 45, which are perhaps a later addition. It is also called "the book of the law", II K. 22, 8, 11. This phrase is not found either in *D* or *H*, but it is a natural descriptive term for either. The consternation of king Josiah, II K. 22 11, and the reference to the words of the book as forebodings of disaster, II K. 22 16, show that the book contained threatenings, which are found in both codes, principally in Dt. 28 and Lev. 26. The specific threatening that "this place", presumably the city Jerusalem, should be a desolation, II K. 22 19, is not found in *D* but is in Lev. 26 31–32. The element of definite threatenig is much more prominent in *H* than in *D*, specific commands, particularly those alluded to in II K., being more frequently accompanied by a specific penalty. Abolition of all forms of worship of other gods is narrated in II K. 23 4–6, 10–13, and is in accord with Dt. 17 3 12 2–3 and Lev. 17 7 19 4 26 1, 30. The abolition of the sodomites, II K. 23 7, is in accord with Dt. 23 17 and Lev. 18 22 20 13. The abolition of the high places of Yahweh, hence the centralization of the worship at Jerusalem, II K. 23 8, 19, is in accord with Dt. 12 5–14 and Lev. 17 3–9. II K. 23 9 b says that the priests of the high places received support like those in Jerusalem, according to Dt. 18 8; this is not specifically mentioned in *H* but is naturally implied in the general regulations. The abolition of the worship of Moloch, II K. 23 10, is in accord with Dt. 18 10, in which Moloch is not mentioned by name, and also with the more specific statements of Lev. 20 1–5 18 21, in which Moloch is mentioned. The observance of the Passover, II K. 23 21–23, is specially mentioned. Regulations concerning the passover are found in Dt. 16 5–6 and Lev. 23 5, the latter passage with additions from *P*. What the distinctive element was in this celebration of the passover is not stated. It is usually supposed that it consisted in the celebration being confined to Jerusalem, in accord with the centralization of worship. If this is the special feature, it appears as expressly mentioned in the regulations of *D*, but is also implied in the general regulations for the centralization in *H*. The abolition of wizards, &c., II K. 23 24, is in accord with Dt. 18 10–14 and Lev. 19 26, 31 20 6, 27.

The items given thus far correspond sufficiently with either code, perhaps somewhat more closely with *H* than with *D*.

Further, it is generally agreed that part of II K. 23 8 should be read: "And he brake down the high places of the satyrs that were at the entrance of the gate of Joshua, &c." The worship of satyrs is forbidden in Lev. 17 7 but not mentioned in *D*.

Further, II K. 23 9a says that priests of the high places did not officiate at Jerusalem; this is directly contrary to the regulation of Dt. 18 6–7, which prescribes that they shall do so.

The account in II K., therefore, favors the view that the code was *H* and not *D*. It may not have been *H* entire but comprised at any rate a large part of the document known by that term.

A JERUSALEM PROCESSIONAL

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WORKING on the Psalms over thirty years, I have been more and more impressed with the amount of local color in them, and the failure of scribes and commentators to note this from lack of personal familiarity with Palestine. My attention was first called to this in connection with Ps. 89. Verse 13 reads:

"North and south, Thou hast created them:
Tabor and Hermon rejoice in Thy name."

To any one who has traveled in northern Galilee and had Tabor and Hermon as his landmarks of south and north this breathes the atmosphere of that country. None could have written it but a Galilean. So far as I know, however, no commentator has noticed this. Prof. Briggs in his commentary in the International Series (II, 257) says: — "Tabor and Hermon, the chief mountain peaks of the Holy Land, Tabor commanding the great plain of Esdraelon, and Hermon, the giant of Lebanon, commanding the greater part of the entire land, representatives therefore of the mountains." This is to miss the local force of the allusion entirely. It led Briggs to a false dating of this part of the Psalm, and a false reference of it. He says (233): "The Ps. indicates a period of peace and quietness in which the public worship of Yahweh in the temple was enjoyed by Israel, and this not until the troubled times of the Restoration were over, some time subsequent to Nehemiah, when peace and prosperity were enjoyed under the Persian rule of Artaxerxes II (458—404 B. C.)." Equally vivid are the local allusions in several of the Psalms of the collection entitled "Of the Sons of Ḳoraḥ" (42—49), such as the mention of the land

of Jordan and the roaring of its fountain beneath Hermon by Tel Ḳadi (42); and the river on which the Temple stood (46). A study of the Ḳoraḥ Psalms on the ground forced me to the conclusion that they could only be ascribed to psalmists of the temple of Dan, which I set forth in an article in the Briggs Memorial Volume.

With this brief introduction I wish to present what I think I may describe as a new discovery. Vv. 6–8 of Ps. 84 have proved a stumbling block. There is no translation of them which makes real sense, and after taking most unjustifiable liberties with the text, and giving to individual words meanings which they have nowhere else commentators have still left the passage quite unintelligible to the ordinary reader. So the Revised Version (American) reads:

"Blessed is the man whose strength is in thee;
In whose heart are the highways *to Zion*.
Passing through the valley of
Weeping they make it a place of springs;
Yea, the early rain covereth it with blessings.
They go from strength to strength;
Every one of them appeareth before God in Zion."

Prof. Briggs in his volume in the International Commentary, taking somewhat greater liberties with the text, and omitting the first half of v. 6 altogether reads:—

"The highways are in the minds of those who pass on in the vale of weeping.

He maketh it a place of springs; yea, the early rain clotheth it with blessings.

They go on from battlement to battlement in order to appear before God, Yahweh in Zion, Yahweh the God of Hosts."

Absolutely literally, with one slight change of text,[1] supported by the Greek translation (LXX), this passage reads:

"Happy the man whose strength is in Thee. Causeways in the midst of them[2] they have passed over. In the valley

1 עברי (7) to עברו (or possibly עבר), and connected with the preceding verse (6), as the metre manifestly requires.

2 בלבבם, in the midst of or between them; i. e. the causeway or bridge between the two hills, the western hill and Zion.

of weeping the fountain[3] that they make. Also the pool[4] the leader[5] encircleth.[6] They go from rampart to rampart. Is seen the God of gods in Zion."

The first clause is a liturgical phrase to be chanted or sung. The remaining phrases are rubrical and describe or prescribe accurately the course of a procession from the western hill, overlooking the Temple area, across the causeway or bridge between the two hills, connecting them together, down the lower Tyropoeon valley, past the so called fountain of Siloam, made[7] by carrying the waters of the Gihon spring into the Tyropeon valley.

Then the leader, bending to the right, must swing around the pool of Siloam in a circle, which brings the procession to the southernmost end of the hill of Ophel, and its first scarp. Up this hill they go, from scarp to scarp, where once its various ramparts stood, until the procession reaches the southern gate of the Temple, and appears to God in Zion. The road exactly as here designated exists to-day, and I have traced it step by step, following the directions of this Psalm; and it exists to-day following in its details the rubrics of this Psalm, except only that it does not reach the south gate of the Temple, since there is none, because it is the route ordained by the topography, now as then.

Now read the Psalm with the topography in view. The ceremony commenced on the western hill, about where the great

[3] מעין, the very name applied to-day in Jerusalem to the point of issue of the water of the Virgin Spring through the tunnel in the Tyropeon Valley, because of the intermittent gush of water, which causes it to be regarded as a fountain not a pool.

[4] Birket, as in the Hebrew consonant Text. The name is applied to-day to the lower pool of Siloam; or perhaps a plural ברכות, covering both the upper pool, which catches the water of the fountain, and the lower and larger pool, now a garden bed, which formerly received the drainage of the valley.

[5] מורה from ירה, teacher or leader. The translation *early rain* is a pure invention without any support.

[6] עמה means to encircle or enwrap as with a cloak. It has absolutely no other meaning in Hebrew.

[7] The word make or made, ישיתוהו in the text, suggests the peculiarity of this fountain, as one made by men, not by nature.

Jewish synagogues now stand, where the valley separating the two hills is at its narrowest and the western hill rises sharply, so that one looks down thence into the Haram-esh-Shereef, the old Temple area, across the Tyropoeon. Here was sung the first stanza, as the first sacrifice was offered:—

2. "How beloved Thine abode, LORD of Hosts!
3. I have longed, yea fainted for the courts of the Lord.
   With heart and body I raise the joy cry to the
   God of my life.
4. The very birds have found a home,
   And the swallow a nest where she put her young,
   Thine altars, LORD of Hosts,
   My king and my God.
5. (Refrain) Happy they thay inhabit Thine house,
   That always sing Thy praise!
   Selah."

It is a vivid and beautiful picture of what one sees even to-day as one looks down from that high point into the Temple court beneath and across the valley. Then the procession starts with rhythmic clapping of hands and stamping of staves, as all chant or intone: "Happy he whose strength is in Thee", precisely as one may see religious processions marching in Jerusalem to-day, iterating and reiterating some short phrase or phrases, the sound now almost dying away, now swelling into a shout, as new voices join in, or something arouses new zeal or energy. The procession crosses the bridge or causeway connecting the two hills[8] probably at Robinson's arch just below the Harem area, the natural point for a causeway or bridge, because here the valley is at its narrowest, and then follows the road to the right down the valley just below the walls of David's

[8] Perhaps as early as Hezekiah's time the city had spread over on to the western hill, occupying its highest part, roughly from a line drawn east from the Jaffa Gate along the southern line of the valley running down into the Tyropoeon, and bounded on the south by about the line of the present wall. This was connected with the eastern city by a causeway or bridge, as in the Herodian city, occupying about the same position.

City, into and through the valley of weeping,[9] and past the fountain[10] which has been made or is being made there. There the leader is to bend to the right, as the road does now, and fetch a circuit about the Pool of Siloam.[11]

So the procession finds itself at the foot of the high rock which constitutes the southern end of Ophel. This rock is scarped and was evidently fortified and battlemented, the lowest rampart of the old city of David. The hill goes up almost like steps, as a model of the rock levels shows. Indeed, this hill is peculiar in its succession of knolls of which are still clearly marked the knoll where stands the Dome of the Rock, beyond this the Baris or Antonia, and beyond this Bezetha. At a point approximately above the Virgin's Spring is what seems once to have been another high knoll, the southern edge which still presents a steep surface toward the south, suggesting a battlement or rampart similar to that at the extreme southern point of the hill. Here it is supposed once stood David's citadel, on the rock summit cut down with such vast toil in the Maccabaean period to prevent it from dominating or rivaling the

[9] The excavations of the Assumptionists on the eastern side of the western hill above the Siloam fountain and pool have shown that in the earlier times, and presumably until some time not long before the Christian era, this area was occupied by graves and tombs. Hence probably the name valley of weeping, as similarly of the valley of weepers near Bethel (Jud. 2 1).

[10] This fountain is peculiar in that is made by the tunnel through Ophel, and does not spring out of the ground naturally. The tunnel is generally supposed to have been cut in Hezekiah's time, the close of the 8th. century. The Hebrew text reads *that is made or set;* the Greek, *was made or set.* Apparently it was not so old at this time of composition of our Psalm that the remembrance of its construction was forgotten.

[11] The water from the tunnel, which discharges intermittently, is caught in a small pool, the outlet of which is carried beneath, not into the Birket or large pool, thus reaching the valley below. The large pool, like the other *birkets* about Jerusalem, simply caught and impounded the water flowing down the valley. To-day no water flows down the valley, the bed of the *birket* is gardens, but the water from the tunnel is carried underneath, not into it. It is much larger than the small pool or tank at the mouth of the tunnel, and extends further to the west, so that the road makes a circuit about it.

Temple. From this the road would have dipped down to a portion of the hill of lower level, crossing which it again ascended to the ramparts of Zion or the Temple enclosure, and to-day this part of the ascent is more gradual. The ascent of the eastern hill to the Temple court was then very literally a going *from rampart to rampart.* It will be observed that this road would have led the procession to the south gate of the Temple, the regular entrance in Herod's time, and presumably also in the earlier period when David's city lay to the south of the Temple. That gate reached, the sanctuary and the altar before it would become visible to the leaders of the procession, and "the God of gods is seen in Zion". Then follows the prayer cry, and presumably sacrifice before the threshold:

"LORD God of Hosts, hear my prayer;
Hearken, God of Jacob.
Selah."

The third stanza (10–13), completing the liturgy, gives us glimpses of certain of the ceremonies and forms of the ritual within the Temple: the prostration of the worshippers with forehead to the ground, like so many threshold stones (הסתופף, v. 11), and the ritual purification (בתמים, v. 12) before the great sacrificial feast, part of the obligation to fulfil exactly the ritual laws, the fulfilment of which brings favourable answer and blessing from God. It reads:[12]

10. "Behold, oh God, our shield,
And regard the face of Thine anointed.[13]

11. For better a day in Thy courts than an army,[14]
I had rather be the threshold in God's house,

[12] For the general method of such a processional ritual, with sacrifice at various stages, ending with the great sacrifice and sacrificial feast at the close, cf. II Sam. 6 12–19. I think that we have a liturgy intended for similar use in Ps. 42, 43, of which Prof. Briggs says (II. 225): "Ps. 8 resembles 42—43, and prob. had the same author."

[13] משיחך, evidence that it was a hymn for the royal sacrifice, and therefore preexilic.

[14] Hebrew אלף, *thousand,* that is a band of 1000 men, a regiment.

12 Than a fortress[15] in the city of the godless.
For sun and shield is the LORD of Hosts;
Favor and honor the LORD giveth,
And refuseth no good to them that walk in cleanness.

13 (Refrain) LORD of Hosts,
Happy he who trusteth in Thee,"

The last stanza helps to fix the date. It evidently belongs to the old days of battle, when warrior kings held their own in Zion by force of arms, when the Temple was the royal shrine, and sacrifices were offered for and in the name of the King, God's anointed. Such sacrifices were regarded as equally necessary to the king's success against his heathen or godless enemies with his armies. Its similarity to 42—43, like which it is ascribed to the Sons of Ḳoraḥ, suggests that this Psalm also was originally a processional liturgy of the temple of Dan, afterwards adopted into the Jerusalem Psalter, but with considerable changes to adopt it to its new use. So in general God (אלהים) was changed to LORD (יהוה), but above all the second stanza was purged entirely of its original local references, for which were substituted rubrical directions for the new ritual, while the original refrain of this stanza or part of it was made the marching chorus to be repeated at intervals throughout the procession. The date of this Psalm in its present shape, it would appear from these considerations, must have been somewhere between the fall of Samaria (721 B. C.), or slightly earlier, at which time the literature of Israel began to be taken over and adopted in Judah, and the capture and destruction of Jerusalem by Nebuchadrezzar, approximately a century and a half later.

It may be asked why this Psalm underwent so much change while we have the companion liturgy, 42, 43, in almost if not quite its original form as a Psalm of Dan. We have in the collection 42—49 apparently a group of or selection from the old Dan Psalter, taken over together and preserved almost intact, even to the old use of Elohim. Such changes as were made, apparently, outside of some refrains and liturgical phrases, were of a literary character. Other Psalms of this Psalter did

[15] דור, cf. As. *duru*, wall, fortress.

not have the same history. Not included in the selection above referred to, they yet found their way to Jerusalem and into use in the Temple, undergoing considerable changes in the process, until at last, with a few other Psalms from the northern kingdom, they were gathered together, copied and added to the already existing collections of Psalms of the Sons of Ḳoraḥ and of Asaph to form the third book of Psalms.

Interesting evidence of the method in which this was done is furnished by two notes in Psalm 88. Vs. 9 ends: "Finished (כלא), I do not go on" ("go out or go forth"), which, seeming impossible, has been translated: "I am shut up and I cannot come forth" (Revised), or by some similar phrase, and supposed to refer to some imprisonment like that of Jeremiah in the pit. This quite spoils the Psalm. The last verse, 19, reads as follows: "Thou hast put far from me lover and friend, mine acquaintance darkness," which with all the doctoring given it by translators and commentators remains quite unintelligible. The concluding words of both verses are notes by the scribe who was copying them. "Finished, I go not on";[16] that is, the tablet or manuscript which he was copying stopped short at this point, leaving the Psalm unfinished.

After the word "acquaintance" in v. 19 the scribe could decipher nothing further. He therefore wrote at this point "darkness" (מחשך), i. e. unintelligible, or illegible. The two fragments (that they are fragments is clear among other things from the failure of the whole to get anywhere liturgically, as well as from the lack of development of the thought) were placed in juxtaposition because, I suppose, of their general resemblance to one another, and more particularly because of the striking resemblance of the closing verses of each. That these are in fact two Psalm Fragments combined is testified to further by the double heading, unique in the entire Psalter, describing one part as "a song set to music of the Sons of Ḳoraḥ, to be led on maḥalath, to make penitence" (לענות), and the other as a "maskil of Heman the Ezraḥite".

16 Perhaps אצא should be changed to יצא, "it does not go on", אצא being due to an attempt to make sense by connecting this clause with the preceding.

מְדַד IN JOB 7 4

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SCHULTENS may have been wrong in his sweeping Arabization of the Book of Job, but the fact remains that the diction of Job stands in close relation to the style of classic Arabic poetry. This is particularly noticeable in the many figurative expressions which find their counterpart nowhere else except in Arabic lyrics and often remain a perpetual perplexity and eternal enigma to the Occidental mind. Metaphors are a *conditio sine qua non* with all people of an imaginative mind, but the imaginative Orientals excel in the richness of imagery and the abundance of objects of comparison. To understand such figures of speech in the Hebrew Scriptures and especially in Job we must consult Arabic models before we venture to emend the masoretic text on the much abused plea of a hypothetical metre.

An instance in question is the baffling passage in Job 7 4 which has been a *crux interpretum* since the very inception of exegesis.[1] The sentence reads as follows: אִם־שָׁכַבְתִּי וְאָמַרְתִּי מָתַי אָקוּם וּמִדַּד עֶרֶב וְשָׂבַעְתִּי נְדָדִים עַד־נָשֶׁף. The Authorized Version translates: "When I lie down, I say, when shall I arise, and the night be gone? and I am full of tossings to and fro unto the dawning of the day." The Revised Version inserts "and the night is long", retaining the rest. Apparently the former derives מְדַד from נדד "wander, depart" (following Targum and Rashi),[2] while the latter construes it as piel of מדד "meas-

[1] The ancient versions show too much confusion to be of any help.

[2] With reference to those who assume נדד to be the root it must be maintained that the poet is not likely to use this word twice in the same verse.

ure" (like Saadya, Ibn Ezra, Moses Chiquitilla, and most of our modern commentators). So far these are the only alternatives within the boundaries of the masoretic text, and although the rendering of RV is an improvement upon that of AV, still the sense remains obscure due to illogical sequence. The phrase ומדד ערב seems to be like a thorn in the structure of the sentence. Hence those commentators who operate with metre (like Bickell and Beer) prefer to excise it altogether, thus alleviating the lack of balance produced by the dichotomy at ערב. But while obtaining what to them seems a sound metre, they fail to do justice to the principle of parallelism by which the second member of the verse should express an idea somewhat similar to that incorporated in the first. This principle is certainly more vital to Hebrew poetry than the theory of metre.

Of course, the accents in our passage are wrong, showing that already the Masoretes were at sea as to its real meaning. The athnaḥ should be placed at אקום, resulting in two equilibrated phrases. But what about the meaning of ומדד ערב? After a study of Arabic poets I reached the conclusion that these words can mean nothing but this: "and from the former part (literally breast) of the evening". דד here, like صَدْرٌ and its equivalents in Arabic,[3] is used metaphorically and signifies "front, forward part". This should not be strange if we consider that other parts of the body are used metaphorically in the

[3] Comp. Lane, *Lexicon*, p. 1661, col. 2 f., also Dozy, *Supplement*, I, 822. Lane registers also the following: "The first part or commencement of the day, the night, of the winter, the summer, and the like." Very interesting is the following passage from Ḥariri's thirteenth makama: لَم يَزَلْ أَهْلِى وَبَعْلِى يحُلُّونَ الصَّدْر ويَسِيرُونَ القَلْبَ ويَمْطُونَ الظَّهر ويُبولُونَ اليد which in a literal translation sounds as follows: "My people and my husband were wont to settle on the breast, and to journey at the heart, to burden the back, to advance the hand." But the commentaries interpret it as follows: settle on the breast = sit in the first place in the Assembly; journey at the heart = march at the centre or headquarters of the army; mount their friends on the backs of their camels; and confer favors. See De Sacy's and Chenery's translations and notes.

Bible: thus ראש "head" also means „beginning",[4] לב "heart" and בטן „belly" also signify "middle",[5] while עצם "bone" serves at the same time for „substance".[6] Nor is this phenomenon peculiar to Semitic languages. We find it abundantly in Indo-European idioms, where "bosom of the earth", "womb of the ocean", „breast of a mountain", "neck of time" and others have become stereotyped phrases.[7] I want to call attention particularly to the following quatrain from the eighth Canto of the Kumāra-Sambhava of Kālidāsa (translated by A. W. Ryder):

> The womb of night envelops slow
> The world with darkness vast and black . . .
> Moon-fingers move the black, black hair
> Of night into its proper place . . .[8]

However, in the personification of time and fractions thereof the Arab poets excel all others, as may be seen from the following examples:

فَقُلْتُ لَهُ لَمَّا تَمَطَّى بِصُلْبِهِ وَأَرْدَفَ أَعْجازًا وَنَآءَ بِكَلْكَلِ

„And I said to it (viz. لَيْل "night"), as it stretched its spine

[4] The cases are numerous, but interesting for our discussion are Jud. 7 19 רֹאשׁ חָאַשְׁמֹרֶת הַתִּיכוֹנָה "the beginning of the middle watch", and Lam. 2 19 רֹאשׁ אַשְׁמֻרוֹת, "the beginning of the watches".

[5] לְבַב־יָם "the midst of the sea" is quite frequent in the Bible. Noteworthy is Jon, 2 3 where בֶּטֶן שְׁאוֹל is parallel to לֵב יַמִּים. Comp. also بطن خبت "the midst of the valley" in Amrulkais, *Muallakat*, l. 29.

[6] As in the frequently recurring phrases עֶצֶם הַיּוֹם and עֶצֶם הַשָּׁמַיִם.

[7] Thus Milton says:

> Mountains on whose barren breast
> The laboring clouds do often rest

and Shakespeare (1 Henry IV., IV. 3. 92):

> He deposed the king;
> Soon after that, deprived him of his life;
> And, in the neck of that, task'd the whole state.

[8] Comp. with this the fifth Makama of Ḥariri:

لَيْلَةً غَابَتْ شَوَائِبُهَا إِلَى أَنْ شَابَتْ نَوَاشِبُهَا

"a night of which the mixed hues had departed until its hind-locks grew gray in the dawn".

and pulled along the posteriors and removed the breast" (Amrulkais, *Muallakat*, l. 45);

يَا لَيْلَةً لَمْ تَبِنْ مِنَ ٱلْقَصَرِ كَأَنَّهَا قُبْلَةٌ عَلَى حَذَرِ

لَمْ تَكُ إِلَّا كَلَا وَلَا وَمَضَتْ تَدْفَعُ فِي صَدْرِهَا يَدُ ٱلسَّحَرِ

"O night thou didst not appear at all, so short thou wert, short as a stolen kiss. It was only as a very nothing and passed away, the hand of dawn thrusting at its breast to repel it" (from the Poems of Umayya b. Abi-ṣ-ṣalt, edited by E. Power in *Mélanges de la Faculté Orientale*, V, 2, 152);

شَقَّ جَيْبُ ٱللَّيْلِ عَنْ نَحْرِ الصَبَاحِ

"The drapery of night is torn away from the breast of dawn" (quoted by Freytag, *Darstellung der arabischen Verskunst*, p. 433, from a Diwan by Zafi-addin Alhilli). Note also the phrase: جَآءَ فِي نَحْرِ النَّهَارِ "he came in the first part of the day".[9]

Moreover, not only the breast but even the *parties honteuses* of the body are used in this metaphorical way. عَجُزٌ "buttock" also means "the hinder part of a thing" and is used as an antithesis to صَدْرٌ in the following verse quoted by Lane from the *Tağ el-'Aroos*: لَا تَدَبَّرُوا أَعْجَازَ أُمُورٍ قَدْ وَلَّتْ صُدُورُهَا "Think ye not upon the ends of things whereof the beginnings have passed".[10] اِسْتٌ "*podex* or *anus*" is also used in connection with time, as e. g. in the phrase اِسْتُ الدَّهْرِ "the first, or beginning, of time".[11] ذَالُ اللَّيْلِ "the posteriors, or hinder parts, of night" is quite frequent in both classic and modern Arabic.[12]

9 Lane, *Lexicon*, p. 2774, col. 3. Comp. also عقب الليل and عقب الرقدة "the heel, event. end of night" in Stumme, *Tunisische Märchen und Gedichte*, I, 95 and 109.

10 Comp. Lane, p. 1960, col. 3.

11 *Ibid.*, p. 56, col. 2f.

12 Besides Lane's *Lexicon*, *s. v.*, comp. also Socin, "Der arabische Dialekt

It will be seen then that the construction advocated here for מדד ערב is not foreign to Semitic idiom, though not found elsewhere in Hebrew. The Bible has preserved the dual only, referring to the breasts of females, on a par with שָׁדַיִם, but it is not impossible that also the singular was in vogue with the general meaning of "breast, chest, front", like صدر in Arabic.[13] This is borne out by the fact that the sing. דד is actually used in post-biblical Hebrew with a derivative meaning. Thus in b. Yoma 37 a we read that Ben Katin made י"ב דד לכיור "twelve faucets or cocks to the basin"; while Moses ben Maimon (*Yad ha-ḥazakah*, Lulab, 8 7) speaks of דד האתרוג, which, like the Aramaic פיטמה, signifies the "protuberance on the blossom-end of the citron". From this use of דד to the combination דד ערב "front of evening" there is only a short distance.

But the best criterion in the interpretation of any text is after all the resulting sense and coherence of meaning, and in this respect we notice at once a decided improvement. The verse should read in the original:

אִם־שָׁכַבְתִּי וְאָמַרְתִּי מָתַי אָקוּם
וּמִדַּד־עֶרֶב וְשָׂבַעְתִּי נְדָדִים עֲדֵי־נָשֶׁף

and in the translation:

When I lie down I say: when shall I arise?
And from early eve I keep tossing till early morn.[14]

Notice the complete symmetry and perfect parallelism of the

von Mōṣul und Märdin", *ZDMG*., XXXVII, 197. In this connection it is interesting to note that also the *penis* is used as an object of comparison among the Arabs, comp. Socin, *ibid*.. p. 218: واحد عربي شاف المنارة قال هذا قالب البئار هذا زب القاع هذا دوك الله يغزل به من فوق "A Beduin beheld a minaret and said: this is the form of a cistern, this is the *penis terrae*, this is the spindle with which God spins from a top downwards."

[13] In fact we find שַׁד used in the singular when referring to the breast of the jackal (Lam. 4 3), in contradistinction to the dual used of woman's breasts.

[14] דד ערב "the breast or forward part of the evening" is here opposed to נשף "morning twilight or dawn". "Early eve" and "early morn" yield the same sense and constitute a striking contrast.

two parts of the verse. The idea of the first is repeated in the second part, but, as is customary in Hebrew poetry, the repetition is more forcible and emphatic. Moreover, the metre is evenly balanced, without any change or emendation of the text. As to the unusual waw of ושבעתי it is what König styles the *waw apodoseos* or emphatic—copulative waw which is quite frequent in Arabic and occurs also several times in the Bible.[15]

[15] König, *Syntax*, p. 615 ff. (§ 415 s ff.). Note Job 15 17 וְזֶה חָזִיתִי וַאֲסַפֵּרָה.

ORIGIN OF THE NAME PHARISEE

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TWO assumptions in regard to the Pharisees are so highly probable that they have received general acceptance; namely, that the party called the Hasideans at the time of the Maccabean uprising was later called the Pharisees,[1] and that the Hebrew פְּרוּשִׁים, the Greek *φαρισαῖοι*, mean those who separated themselves, separatists.[2]

There must be a reason why the party called Hasideans[3] at the time of the Maccabean uprising was later called the Pharisees. The reason for changing a name so obviously suitable as the "pious" to the "separatists" must be sought in some event, which at the time of its occurrence made their separation from the rest of the nation their most conspicuous feature—even more conspicuous than the piety for which they were famous.[4] Otherwise why the change of name? That this separation which was temporarily so important was not of lasting or fundamental significance is shown by the fact that the origin of the name Pharisee was so soon forgotten, for neither Josephus[5] nor the early Church Fathers[6] knew its origin. The latter as well as many modern scholars explain the name as meaning those who separated themselves not only from the heathen but

[1] Wellhausen, *Die Pharisäer und die Sadducäer*, pp. 77—78; Schürer, *Geschichte des Jüdischen Volkes*. 4 ed., vol. 2. p. 473.

[2] Schürer, p. 465.

[3] I Macc. 2 42 7 13 II Macc. 14 6.

[4] I Macc. 2 42—43.

[5] Josephus, *Antiquities*, XIII, 5 9. Wellhausen, pp. 77—78.

[6] Schürer, p. 467, note 52.

also from the uncleanness of the masses. No one will deny that in the Rabbinic period the substantives *perîshah* and *perîshûth* (פְּרִישָׁה, פְּרִישׁוּת) mean a separation from all uncleanness[7], but that fact does not constitute evidence for the exact meaning of the passive participle of פָּרַשׁ in the Maccabean period.

The half century within which the change of party name occurred is easily determinable. The author of I Maccabees tells us that the "Hasideans were the first among the children of Israel that sought peace"[8] of Alcimus and Bacchides, and Josephus narrates the break of John Hyrcanus with the Pharisees[9]. In other words it occurred subsequent to the appointment of Alcimus to the highpriesthood and some time before the break of John Hyrcanus with the Pharisees, for the conflict which broke out at that time presupposes a period of previous development of the Pharisaic party. The part played by the Hasideans in the Maccabean revolt was first clearly set forth by Wellhausen.[10] In the Greek period the party opposed to the laxity of Hellenism was made up of such heterogeneous elements as Mattathias and his friends, the Nazirites[11], the scribes, the Hasideans[12], and doubtless many another nameless group[13] that placed allegiance to the law and ancestral custom above everything else. From the time when the Hasideans joined Mattathias and his friends after their initial success until the granting of religious liberty by the Syrians and the appointment of a legitimate high priest[14], the Hasideans gave their loyal support to the struggle. At the beginning it was a war for the law. When the temple was purified and rededicated and the temple mound fortified, religious liberty was practically regained, although not officially sanctioned[15]. It was difficult to confine the war strictly to the religious issue. The expeditions

7 Levy, *Neuhebräisches u. Chaldäisches Wörterbuch*, vol. 4, p. 144.
8 I Macc. 7 13.
9 Josephus, *Antiquities*, XIII, 10 5—6.
10 Wellhausen, *Pharisäer*, pp. 78—86.
11 I Macc. 3 49. 12 I Macc. 2 42—43.
13 I Macc. 2 29—38. 14 I Macc. 7 12—13.
15 I Macc. 4 36—61.

against the Edomites, Beanites, and Ammonites[16] were ostensibly and doubtless really for the purpose of avenging and rescuing their co-religionists in those districts: Simon's expedition into Galilee and that of Judas into Gilead were for the liberty of the Jews living there[17], and hence it was in a sense still a religions war. In 164 B. C. occurred the death of Antiochus Epiphanes, the one who was responsible for the whole difficulty[18], and Lysias—albeit through fear of Philip newly returned from Persia—made a "covenant whith them that they should walk after their own laws"[19]. Up to this point there was no break among the Jews who opposed the introduction of Hellenic customs and Hellenic religion. However, when Demetrius I ascended the throne in Antioch in 162 B. C. and "sent words of peace to Judas" and gave practical evidence of good faith and of his desire to conciliate the Jews by the appointment of a legitimate high priest[20], the religious grounds for the continuance of the war were removed. The object was attained for which the war had heen undertaken. Ought not the Jews lay down their arms? The Hasideans and the scribes thought so, and the Hasideans withdrew from the national movement[21]. A party that lays down arms when it sees the aims for which it has been fighting fully satisfied, cannot with justice be accused of fanaticism. On the other hand it is not strange that a party which separated itself from the national movement for independence and secular power, and refused to fight for the country, placing religion above the state, should have appeared to the revolutionists as separatists, and from henceforth have heen called by that name.

Our knowledge of the course of events between the appointment of Alcimus to the highpriesthood and the break of John Hyrcanus with the Pharisees is not sufficient to prove that this separation of the Hasideans from the national movement for political independence is the only event which could have occasioned a change in the party name of the Hasideans, but this secession is in itself sufficient to be regarded as an adequate excuse and it

[16] I Macc. 5 1–8. [17] I Macc. 5 9–54. [18] I Macc. 6 1–17.
[19] I Macc. 6 59. [20] I Macc. 7 1–11. [21] I Macc. 7 13–15.

furnishes an historical explanation which is not at variance with the facts so far as they are known. It supports the suggestion of Schürer[22] that the name was given by their adversaries as a name of opprobrium, and it explains why the name *perûshîm* occurs so seldom in our oldest Rabbinical source, the Mishna.

[22] Schürer, p. 467.

גורן נכון IN 2 SAM. 6 6

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IN 2 Sam. 6 6 occurs the expression: ויבואו עד גורן נכון. This phrase גורן נכון has been explained in the following ways:

1. נכון (or its textual equivalent) is construed as a proper name. 1 Chron. 19 9 has כידון. G^A has Ναχών, G^B Νωδαβ. The rendering ἀλω Ὄρνα τοῦ Ἰεβουσαίου of $G^{Lagarde}$ is likewise based upon the notion that a proper name must be read here: in this instance the נכון, an unintelligible "name", has been displaced by that of a well-known threshing floor (2 Sam. 24 18ff.).[1] The Vulgate has *Nachon*, and so most versions. The Jewish interpreters, with the exception of the Targum and Aquila, have uniformly read a proper name.[2] Most modern commentators read a proper name; so Wellhausen, Löhr, Nowaçk, Ehrlich, Smith, Dhorme, Budde, Driver.

2. נכון is interpreted as a Niphal participle of כון.

a. In the sense of a "certain" threshing floor. So Schmidt: *ad aream aliquam, vel certam aliquam;* Klostermann: *zu einer*

[1] For a similar interpretation see Rashi on b. Soṭah 35b: "I have heard (the following interpretation) attributed to R. Menahem bar Ḥelbo: גורן נכון is the same as גורן ארונה היבוסי".

[2] Where the variant of Chronicles is noted, the commentators (e. g., David Ḳimḥi) follow a midrashic passage in b. Soṭah 35b (Bemidbar Rabba 4) and, in general, Rashi's commentary thereon (to Soṭah 35b). As usual, they attempt to harmonize by having recourse to the simple meaning of the words נכון and כידון. נכון is taken in its most natural sense: *firm, established, permanent.* Of the various fanciful etymologies given to כידון, some have been repeated by moderns. Compare Thenius on Samuel, first edition, "Tenne des Todes"; and Schloegl on Chronicles, "Die Tenne sei hier proleptisch *Todestenne* genannt".

bestimmten Tenne; Schloegl: *zu einer gewissen, bestimmten Tenne.* So also, most recently, Morgenstern.[3]

b. In the sense of "prepared". So Targum, Peshitta, Aquila, Drusius. Arnold[4] admits the possibility of this interpretation as an alternative to his own, which is given below.

c. In the sense of "fixed, permanent". So Böttcher, followed by Thenius in his second edition: "*eine feste Tenne*". This meaning, though with a different interpretation, has been assigned to the word most recently by Arnold.[5]

The object of this paper is to show that the evidence supports the last interpretation.

The arguments for a proper name are at best inconclusive. In the first place, the readings of the Greek and of Chronicles prove nothing, unless by their very divergence they prove that the word נכון offered difficulties.

The second contention, namely, that the context demands a proper name, is no better. The sense of the passage would not be affected in the least if we had simply: "And they came to a threshing-floor". We should hardly desiderate the name of its owner.

The interpretation of נכון as equivalent to "a certain" has been upheld most recently by Morgenstern. He cites as parallels 1 Sam. 23 23 (with Schmidt), and 26 4. But even accepting his interpretation "a certain definite" in those passages, the cases are by no means parallel. In both those passages נכון could very well be replaced by a proper name, whereas in our passage such a name would hardly be congruous. As bearing upon an episode about to be recorded, what we desiderate is an adjective descriptive of the גורן.

נכון in the sense of "prepared" offers no difficulty so far as concerns the simple meaning; for הכין of course does mean to prepare. This interpretation would have two considerations to commend it: 1) נכון would be used in a perfectly familiar sense. 2) The word, so used, would describe more fully the scene of the accident—exactly what we expect of the word qualifying גורן—a smoothly swept threshing floor would mean that Uzzah

[3] *JBL* xxxvii, 144.
[4] *Ephod and Ark*, p. 62.
[5] *Loc. cit.*

was more likely to slip.[6] But if נכון is to be taken in this sense, we are left with a very abrupt sentence. 'And they came to a prepared threshing-floor' seems to require further explanation. Prepared, according to Arnold's alternative interpretation, for the season's threshing: i. e., smoothed and swept. But if our au'hor meant: "They came to a threshing floor which had been swept smooth for the season's threshing", he probably would have said so. Evidently, what we should read is: "And they came to a (particular kind of) threashing floor", that is, a threashing-floor of such a sort as would make the ensuing accident more likely to occur.

Böttcher, who was the first to adopt the interpretation *fixed* in our passage, is not quite convincing: "גורן נכון: sehr wohl erklärbar als 'eine feste Tenne', d. h., eine solche, die anders als die mit dem Platze wechselnde Sommer-Tenne (Dan. 2 35) durch alle Jahreszeiten an Einer Stelle blieb, daher auch wohl Obdach und Futtervorräthe hatte. Von der Witterung oder Wahrnehmung der letzteren mochten die Rinder verlockt worden sein, zu stark oder seitwärts anzuziehen."

Much simpler and closer to the primary meaning of נכון, *fixed, made fast*, is the interpretation of Arnold:

"I have taken נכון to signify in this connection *firm, hard, permanent*, that is, a threshing floor of bare rock, as distinguished from one made of levelled or hardened earth."

No possible objection can be raised to either of these interpretations on the ground that a far-fetched meaning has been given to נכון. The most common meaning of the word is invoked. But objections have been made on other grounds. So Wellhausen (followed by Driver) says: "*Eine* feste Tenne genügt dem Sinne nicht." But we have seen that the sense *is* satisfied if the description can be shown to have some direct bearing on the accident.

A more serious objection is the supposed lack of evidence for the actual use of נכון with גורן in precisely this semi-technical sense. It is true that we have no direct O. T. evidence of such a usage. But we may confidently assume it on the basis of a passage in the Mishnah (Baba Bathra ii, 8) in which

[6] Note that I follow Arnold's interpretation of השל.

there is mention of a גורן קבוע. That קבוע is the exact equivalent of נכון a cursory glance at the lexicons, to say the least, will demonstrate.

Granting, then, the existence of such a thing as a "permanent threshing floor", we face the problem of Böttcher and Arnold: Just what were the characteristics of such a threshing-floor? Our only sources for answering this question consist of this one Mishnic passage and the Gemara thereon.

The text of the Mishnah is as follows:

> A permanent threshing-floor must be kept fifty cubits from the town. A man may not construct a permanent threshing-floor on his own property unless he has fifty cubits of space on every side. A man must keep (his threshing-floor) at such a distance from the plants or the plowed ground of his neighbor as will prevent harm (to his neighbor's property when the threshing takes place).

The Mishnah itself, it is apparent, furnishes no definition of the גורן קבוע. From the context, we might guess that the reason the *permanent* threshing-floor, גורן קבוע, as distinguished from the *temporary* threshing floor, גורן שאינו קבוע, had to be removed a certain distance from the town, was because a greater amount of grain was threshed there, and consequently there was greater likelihood of injury to the townspeople.

The Jerusalem Gemara makes no attempt to define the גורן קבוע. The Babylonian Gemara gives (Baba Bathra 24b) what seems, at first glance, to be intended as an *explanation* of the name גורן קבוע, but yet is not. Because of this seeming attempt at definition, however, a discussion of the passage is necessary.

In the Gemara, after Abaye has insisted, in opposition to R. Ashi, that the last clause of the Mishnah refers to a *temporary* threshing floor (גורן שאינו קבוע) the question is asked: "What is called a temporary threshing floor?" The answer, in the name of R. Jose b. Ḥanina, is: "Wherever the winnowing is not done by a shovel (רחת)".

Rashi explains further:

"Wherever the winnowing is not done by a shovel, &c." That is, where the pile (of wheat) is not large, so that it is not necessary to winnow with the shovel, but where. instead, the wind blows through the pile and the chaff is blown off of itself . . . When, on the other hand, the pile is large (as in a permanent threshing-floor), it is necessary to pick up the grain on a winnowing shovel, and throw it up in the air, so that the wind may blow through it and carry the chaff away.

According to this, then, the difference between a *permanent* threshing floor and a *temporary* one has to do with the different methods of winnowing the grain, or, better, and as Rashi explains, with the *amount* of grain deposited on the threshing floor. If there is a large amount, the threshing-floor is called a *permanent* threshing floor; if a small amount, it is called a *temporary* one.

But if that were so, the bearing of such an interpretation upon 2 Sam. 6 6 would not be clear. The point of the matter is that the Babylonian Gemara is not concerned with defining the גורן קבוע; since in the Mishnah and the Palestinian Gemara, it is assumed that everybody knows just what a „permanent threshing-floor" is. To understand the passage, we must go back to what evidently was the simple sense of the Mishnah, as surmised at the start. The train of argument would then run as follows:

Threshing-floors must be kept away from the city, because the chaff may harm the plants and the inhabitants as well. But if only a small amount of grain is threshed, there is no need for this prohibition, since no harm is likely to be done. Therefore, in stating the Mishnah, it is expressly provided that only the *larger* sort of threshing-floor, the *permanent* threshing-floor, are to be kept at this distance. But this is too general; the point at issue is, after all, *the amount of grain threshed.* Then, say the Amoraim, let the amount of grain threshed decide. Those threshing-floors where much grain is threshed shall be considered *in a class with* permanent threshing-floors; those where only a small amount is threshed shall be considered in a

class with temporary threshing-floors. The objective test shall be the use of the winnowing shovel. Thus, instead of saying, "A permanent threshing-floor is one where the winnowing shovel is used," we should say: "The use of a winnowing shovel is the test whereby, for purposes of administering the Mishnic law, a given threshing-floor, of whatever nature, is considered to involve the same consequences as the larger threshing-floor known as the permanent threshing-floor."

In other words, גורן קבוע in the Babylonian Talmud, as in the Mishnah itself and the Palestinian Talmud, is still undescribed. We know that it was probably *large*, so much might be guessed from the name itself. But the way is still open for interpretation of II Sam 6 6, and we come back to our old query: What characteristic of the large, permanent threshing-floor could have a bearing on the accident to Uzzah?

We shall have to admit that Arnold's interpretation, once granted the existence of a *permanent threshing-floor* (which is all the Baba Bathra passage proves), is the most natural one. The question may indeed be raised as to whether Arnold is justified in basing the distinction between permanent and temporary threshing-floors upon the *material* of which the floor was constructed. A permanent threshing-floor, as we know from present agricultural conditions in Palestine, might well be constructed out of hardened earth; indeed, the sense of II Sam 6 6 is not altered in the least by such an interpretation. The reader, upon being informed that the oxen had come to a "permanent threshing-floor," would immediately picture a floor either of rock or of very hard earth, on which a slip such as that of Uzzah was quite natural. Böttcher's notion of the supplies of fodder and all, besides being a bit far-fetched, involves the additional difficulty that there is no evidence that permanent threshing-floors were so provided; if all, or most, were not, then the significance of the word נכון for the passage is lost.

What was the "temporary" threshing-floor? We know, from knowledge of modern Palestinian agricultural conditions as well as from Biblical sources, that it is by no means uncommon to convert a level bit of ground or of rock into a temporary

"threshing floor," for the purpose of threshing *a small amount of grain*. Gideon (Judges 6 11) and Ruth (Ruth 2 17) beat out, in just such places, what they had gleaned. We may note that no winnowing shovel was used for such a small amount—the wind carried off the chaff "of itself"—and so the Talmudic test could apply.

Whatever may have been the precise nature of the *permanent threshing-floor*, we do know that such a floor existed in Mishnic times; and the identification of such a floor with the גורן נכון of II Sam 6 6 is perfectly justified.

BRIEF COMMUNICATIONS

1 Sam. 13 21

THE rendering "pim" at 1 Sam. 13 21 in the new Jewish version of the Scriptures is illuminating in several ways. It exemplifies the utility of excavation; it exemplifies the fact that a Masoretic reading which critics have unanimously condemned as hopelessly corrupt may have been exactly right all the time; it gives intelligibility to the text itself.

The plan of their work forbade the translators to make this justification of the first Masoretic words a basis for any emendation of the words which follow. But obviously the attitude of the LXX in finding the word שקל in the midst of ולשלש קלשון is powerfully supported by "pim". If we say that the fee was a pim for the sharpening of tools listed by name, this calls at once for some mention of those for which the charge was something else than a pim; otherwise why the list of tools, why not let the sentence end at "pim"?

When we have "pim" and a list of tools, and then the letters שקל in a group of letters for which no satisfactory meaning has otherwise been found, it ought to need no further demonstration that the last part of the verse is a list of those for which a shekel was charged. There remains the question how to dispose of the letters surrounding שקל.

We read in the first place, then, that the fee was a pim למחרשות ולאתים ולשל. Do we hear elsewhere of the של? Yes, in 2 Sam. 6, 7, where again it has been an unsolved difficulty: traditional interpretation makes it an abstract noun, but Klostermann and Smith have already seen and said that it ought to be that upon which Uzzah falls as he is struck down, presumably

a part of the cart. If we may recognize the same word in 1 Sam. 13 21, then we learn that it was a sharp iron. Now we know that a man may die from Jahveh's stroke without other weapon; nevertheless, if the stroke throws him down upon a sharp iron, the mention of the fact seems very pertinents to the record of his death.

In the next place, שקל imperatively requires to be followed by ל, as פים is; and we may regard the dagesh of the Masoretic text as the relic of this additional ל. Supplying this ל, we find that the fee was a shekel לשון ולהקרמים ולהציב הדרבן. The motive for the higher fee is that the ax is a larger and heavier tool than the hoe or colter, demanding more labor for its sharpening, and that in shoeing the goad the smith had to contribute not only his labor but a piece of iron. As to the preceding piece, we do not know שון; we know לשון, but not as a piece of iron. Once the לשון is a piece of metal, Achan's לשון of gold. The fact that the English Bible renders this by "wedge" will not seem to anybody to have great evidential value for the interpretation of our passage; nevertheless we may perhaps take a hint from it. The wedge is a tool used since primitive times, heavy enough to make the smith much work in sharpening if it has grown as dull as the Hebrew peasant probably let it grow before he carried it down to Philistia and paid a shekel for sharpening it; and it might well be called לשון. Of course the reading of the noun לשון requires us to assume that the text had originally ללל, which copyists reduced to a single ל with dagesh; but it is not violent to suppose that if ללל occurred in an unintelligible sequence of letters there would be a tendency to simplify the gemination in copying.

What we have thus obtained, if we resist the temptation to supply also a conjunction before שקל, is "and the charge for sharpening was a pim for hoes and colters and *shal*, a shekel for wedge and ax and for shoeing a goad". Here we have given a motive to the listing of the tools that cost a pim, we have put meaning into the unintelligible word in the middle, and we have obtained from this passage a definite indication as to the meaning of an unintelligible word found elsewhere. Our income from the operation is thus considerable; it is time

to look at the expenses, for there are reasons for not being too positive of it all.

In the first place, the proposed emendations give us two singulars in a series of plurals. However, דרבן is singular already, and in Judges 9 48 the plural form of קרדם has singular meaning, while we know little of the syntax of the other two words. In the next place, I find it difficult to think of any sharpened iron that belongs to a cart, or that would be carried in driving a cart, so that a person suddenly struck down should fall upon it; unless it be the goad, and in our passage the goad appears with another name. In the third place, in the use of a wedge it is ordinarily best economy of strength to start the wedge in a cleft made by an ax, so that the wedge does not need to be very sharp; however, if the Hebrew held it long enough before taking it to the smith it might get so dull that it could not be used anyhow. Obviously the effect of the high charge would be to make the sharpening come seldom and hence to make it a very hard job when it was done, and the smith may have worked hard enough to earn what he got. In the fourth place, if we knew the tool to be a wedge (though in fact this is the part of our conjecture that has least foundation) there is no reason why the wedge should not be just as likely to be called שֵׁן as לשון, and שן could be got out of the received text just as easily as לשון; or one might even retain the ו by assuming that the wedge was called by a name that was originally a dialectic variant of שֵׁן, with different vowel. A fact that should be remembered in all conjecturing, though I think it commonly is not, is that a passage containing an unfamiliar word or words is naturally more exposed to corruption than one in which all the words are familiar, and hence a hundred lines of corrupt text will, if restored to their true original, contain decidedly more hapax-legomena (which, bear in mind, will be words that are not now known to have existed at all) than do a hundred lines of uncorrupted text. This consideration cuts a great part of the foundation from under the whole business of conjecture, since the foundation has generally to consist in an attempt to restore words such as we are already acquainted with; on the other hand, a conjecture which produces

an unheard-of word, which will generally be regarded as the most reckless type of conjecture, may claim at least that it has more chance of being right than any one would allow it at first glance. Ordinarily, to be sure, one will sooner acquiesce in an unintelligible traditional text than create by conjecture an equally unintelligible text; so we simmer down to Porson's "Conjectural readings are worth a farthing a cartload". But in the present instance the sense requires שקל and שקל lies before our eyes in the traditional text.

Ballard Vale, Mass. Steven T. Byington

חשך

The Hebrew Lexicon under חשך cites Palmyrene Aramaic as using this word in the meanings given by Vogüé. Some users of the Lexicon may not have Vogüé at hand, and it is a safe guess that not every one who could get a look at Vogüé will take the look. It will not be superfluous, therefore, to set forth what I found when I looked up the texts.

The two occurrences that are cited are from bilingual honorific inscriptions for statues of men who have deserved this honor because each of them, among other merits, חסך certain moneys. The first presumption, to me, is that the word will have the same meaning in the two passages. Vogüé recognizes no such presumption, but gives quite dissimilar meanings, each of which he arrives at by rejecting the testimony of the Palmyrenes themselves as furnished by their Greek translation.

The Greek of inscription 15 translates חסך by *ἀφειδήσαντα*. Inscription 6 is defective, but according to Vogüé's restoration we should read *ἀφειδήσαντι* there also. Vogüé's note on 15 remarks that the meaning of חסך as shown by Hebrew usage is exactly contrary to *ἀφειδήσαντα*, and that the meaning *φείδω*, not *ἀφειδέω*, is congruous to the other statements about the man's services. But here is the same fallacy that one may observe sometimes in certain works of Biblical criticism, of starting from the text as if it were a free composition, and not observing that the author is likely to have been bound by the facts, whether actual or traditional, which he had to record.

If the man had actually deserved well by *ἀφειδεῖν* his own money, the inscription could do nothing but record that, even if his official position had given him opportunity to deserve well by *φείδειν* the public money.

In restoring *ἀφειδήσαντι* for the lacuna in 6, Vogüé shows that he does not assume the Greek word to have been any slip of the stone-cutter of 15; his assumption is therefore that in Palmyrene usage this word had the opposite of its natural Greek meaning. One expects, therefore, that he shall interpret it the same way in 6. But he does not; and indeed it would require some ingenuity, though hardly more ingenuity than he uses. That which the man חסך in 6 was a נור דנרין די דהב עתיקין תלת מאה, in Greek *χρυσα παλαια δηναρια τριακοσια αναλ[ωμ]α-[τ]ω[ν]*. Vogüé notes "La formule דנרין עתיקין = *δηνάρια παλαιά* correspond à celle qui se trouve sur les médailles pour indiquer la remise faite par l'empereur de l'arriéré dû au fisc ... On peut aussi la considérer comme ... *anciennes espèces*, ... aurei du haut empire, d'un poids supérieur ..." Despite his profession of uncertainty, he feels so sure of the former half of this note that without any other foundation, so far as I see, he conjectures for the word נור = *ἀνάλωμα* the meaning "debt", and, as the end of the chain of inference, makes חסך here mean "remit".

But if instead of taking all this interpretation as canonical we start from the modest-looking assumptions that the Palmyrenes understood the two languages of their city and that the same word will most probably have the same meaning when found in similar contexts, we may buttress these assumptions by remarking that the normal Greek meaning of *ἀνάλωμα* harmonizes beautifully with the normal Greek meaning of *ἀφειδεῖν*, and that both the men honored are perfectly likely to have been honored for "generously spending" their money in services to their fellows.

My conclusion is that if anybody feels himself to need more light on the meaning of חסך than the Hebrew Lexicon gives him, he will do well to read his Palmyrene texts in the original rather than in Vogüé's translation.

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אביר 1 Sam. 21 8

One hears nowadays that אביר in 1 Sam. 21 8 has superlative adjectival sense, "the mightiest of" &c. But if Doeg was the mightiest of either Saul's herdsmen or Saul's guardsmen the mention of the fact would stand unmotivated in the text. And if such had been the meaning the words would have been אביר רעֵי שאול; the use of the periphrastic genitive shows that we are speaking not of the אביר of Saul's רעים but of Saul's אביר רעים. So this text cannot be an exception to the rule that אביר is substantive; and presumably אביר רעים is some sort of office. I conjecture that with large herds like the king's there was so much specialization of function that one man was engaged as the fighting man of the company, whose chief qualifications were willingness to fight at any moment and ability to kill any number of robbers or lions. Such a character would suit the part that Doeg plays.

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נדגלות

Surely the interpretation "bannered hosts" for נדגלות is, as Graetz says, mere conjecture. But if we are to conjecture, the parallelism in Cant. 6 10 bids us conjecture rather a celestial luminary. There are two luminaries which the tradition of the world recognizes as "terrible" and which would be appropriately named by a plural word meaning "bannered": (a) the aurora borealis, (b) comets. History records that there have been times when the aurora borealis has appeared conspicuously in the latitude of Palestine often enough to be likely to have a name given to it; that it has not appeared very often is just what is wanted, for this is what makes it "terrible". On the other hand, I believe every nation which has observed comets has observed that comet differs from comet and hence that they are to be spoken of in the plural. I should regard either of these interpretations as convincing if it had not the other to compete with it; at any rate I see no occasion for considering any third interpretation.

Ballard Vale, Mass. Steven T. Byington

THE ORIGIN OF ACTS[1]

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WITH the present meeting the Society of Biblical Literature and Exegesis brings to an end the fortieth year of its existence. It was organized on January 2, 1880, in Professor Schaff's study, 42 Bible House. It is a happy coincidence that on this anniversary the Society is again enjoying the hospitality of Union Seminary, as it has so often done in the intervening years. In this period the Society has brought together, at first twice a year and later annually, groups of leading American biblical scholars, and thus promoted personal acquaintance, the interchange of ideas, and the development of scholarship and research in a unique and important way. The establishment of the *Journal of Biblical Literature* in 1882 marked an important step in the Society's history and in the development of biblical studies in America. It has served as an archive for learned papers for which no other medium existed in America, and has undoubtedly greatly extended the usefulness of the Society. The Society took a third great step when in 1900 it joined with the Archaeological Institute of America in establishing the American School of Oriental Research in Jerusalem. The great gift of $50,000 announced two years ago has ensured the School a permanent home, and the future that lies before it in the new day now opening for oriental investigation of every sort, kindles the imagination. Can we not find more institutions to join in its support, and multiply its fellowships so that a large body of

[1] Presidential Address at the annual meeting of the Society of Biblical Literature at Union Theological Seminary, December 29, 1919.

our aspiring biblical scholars may gain the incalculable stimulus that residence in Palestine and study there under the guidance of experts can give?

Ten years hence the history of this Society will be sketched in a longer and richer retrospect, but I have not felt at liberty to pass over this anniversary without this brief review, and surely to biblical students most of all, the Society's survival of a period of forty years cannot fail to be hopefully suggestive. And it is quite certainly true that with the changed and as we hope more settled and enlightened conditions in the Near East the possibilities of archaeological and manuscript discoveries are greater than they have ever been.

But the greatest tasks before American biblical scholarship are not archaeological but interpretative. We are the custodians of the greatest of spiritual values. Fascinating as is the technique of the subject, it would be fatal to be absorbed by it. The Bible's final worth to the world we live in is religious and moral. Some of us have lived long enough with the critical study of the scriptures to be convinced that only with its fullest aid can the message of the Bible be released and offered to men and women of to-day. I need not dwell upon a task so well set forth by Professor Montgomery in his opening address a year ago. But the past year has made even clearer the need of a generation shot through with idealism and yet threatened with the narrowest materialism, for the spiritual message of Jesus and the prophets.

The noteworthy studies recently made by American scholars in the so-called Acts of the Apostles have raised important questions and reminded us all of the pivotal place of Acts in the history of New Testament literature. The Society's committee on program has accordingly chosen the Acts as the subject of this year's symposium and has invited me to introduce the discussion.

It has generally been recognized that in the production of any book of the New Testament as of other literature, two things were necessary, an author and a situation. To these ought to be added a third which may fairly be distinguished from them,

namely a public. Sometimes of course the existence of a public is implicit in the existence of the situation, but not always. In any case it will be salutary to keep in view this often neglected factor.

In the first place the historical significance of these documents becomes vastly greater when this factor is considered. It was much that there was in the first century a Christian teacher capable of writing the letter to the Romans. But it is not less noteworthy that there was a Christian public at Rome and in other congregations capable of reacting to such a work. Indeed the more one studies Romans the more one comes to feel that the existence of such a public was perhaps even more remarkable than the existence of such a writer. This would be no more than saying that the church was more significant than its leaders. Certainly it is a massive fact for the historian that there was in the first Christian generation a Christian public capable of reading, understanding, prizing and preserving such a letter as Romans. And to the modern student not the least value of Paul's letters is the disclosure they make of the Christian communities to which they were addressed.

In the second place, this consideration may safeguard us from conjecturally postulating precarious hypothetical documents, for which no probable public can be discerned. To every conjectural document we may apply these tests: Is the author whom it implies a reasonably probable historical figure? Is the situation or occasion which it implies historically probable? And can we reasonably postulate for it a public considerable enough to have taken it up and given it at least a brief life?

The books and documents of the New Testament are in general the parts of primitive Christian literature which found and kept a public. Scores of letters were doubtless written by the same hands, perhaps not inferior in quality to some of these, which have perished, for want of a competent and appreciative public. For the fact is, literature, Christian or other, is a social product in this sense at least, that a work must respond to some taste or need of the readers it reaches or it will fall still-born. The true writer presents not merely his own views but in large part at least views and ideas congenial and even common to his readers. Otherwise he will not reach them at all.

With these general considerations in mind let us approach the problem of Acts, and briefly recall the recent studies relating to it.

In 1916 Professor Torrey propounded his theory that I Acts, that is Acts 1 1—15 35, is translated throughout by the writer of II Acts from an Aramaic document of 49—50 A. D. and that our Acts was written before the death of Paul. Professor Wilson has vigorously sustained him, in two papers in the *Harvard Theological Review*. His theory has been criticized by Professor Foakes-Jackson in the same review, by Professor Bacon in the *American Journal of Theology*, and by Professor Burkitt in the *Journal of Theological Studies*. Professor Torrey has rejoined in the *American Journal of Theology*. Meantime Dr. Cadbury has dealt in a notable way with the "Style and Literary Method of Luke", incidentally putting the supposedly medical color of Luke's language in a new light.

Professor Torrey's learned contribution on the Aramaic Source of Acts cannot of course be dealt with in half an hour; still less can it be neglected. I can only hope to suggest some of the impressions it has made upon me.

Professor Torrey has certainly given us fresh and convincing evidence of the Aramaic influences that operated upon Luke in the composition of what he has taught us to call I Acts, that is 1 1—15 35. He has plainly proved that behind many passages of Acts lie Aramaic forms of expression, which sometimes are of much value in helping us to determine the ideas of the historian's informants and perhaps even the facts themselves. I would only urge that, as Dr. Burkitt has pointed out, Professor Torrey has in some instances yielded prematurely to the doubts and suspicions that the Greek awakens, and hidden himself in the covert of his Semitic pavilion before it was really necessary to do so. And this conditions the validity of his deductions from the evidence he has amassed. He believes it sufficient to establish the theory that I Acts is as a whole a translation made from an Aramaic document which was written in Palestine late in A. D. 49 or early in 50, and discovered by Luke probably in Rome after he arrived there in A. D. 62. Luke who had already about A. D. 60

written his gospel, translated the work into Greek and became the continuator of it, writing II Acts, that is, 15 36 — 28 31, about 64 A. D.

I have examined all the instances of alleged mistranslation upon which this theory chiefly hinges, and with Professor Burkitt, I cannot think that Professor Torrey "has produced a compelling demonstration", or that "his hypothesis of an Aramaic basis makes these passages any easier." Some that Professor Torrey objects to do not seem to me so very difficult, though every ancient text contains difficulties.

I am unable in the first place to feel the sharp transition at 15 36 that this theory implies. Or to speak more broadly, some narratives in I Acts, e. g. 3 19–30, seem to me quite as Greek in diction as some in II Acts. For example the letter of the Jerusalem apostles and presbyters to the gentile brethren in Syria and Cilicia, Acts 15 23–29, is in epistolary forms the most perfectly Greek letter in the New Testament. It begins "The apostles .... to the brethren ... greeting" (χαίρειν), and it ends "Good bye" (ἔρρωσθε). Hundreds of papyrus letters exhibit these forms, but of thirty or thirty five letters in the New Testament only this one. In a literal translation from the Aramaic, this is strange. It is interesting that the next most Greek example of a letter in the New Testament is in II Acts (23 26–32), which, like James, has the opening salutation χαίρειν. Both these letters are decidedly Greek in style, but the one in I Acts is the more so.

Nor are the supposedly untranslatable passages in Acts confined to I Acts. One of the very worst is in II. Of 24 18 Moffatt says, "It is hardly possible to make sense of the following Greek text and none of the various readings or of the emendations that have been proposed is entirely satisfactory." But if the Greek feeling of some parts of I Acts is as good as anything in II Acts, and if some sentences in II Acts are as hopelessly untranslatable as anything in I Acts, the sharp line of division detected by the Aramaic School at 15 35 is badly blurred.

In weighing the arguments of Professor Torrey one is hampered by the difficulty of finding any Hebrew or Aramaic documents of any sort definitely referable to the first century with which to

compare the supposed Hebrew or Aramaic manners of speech in the gospels and Acts. The fact is there is next to nothing in the way of contemporary written Semitic materials by which to test the Hebrew or Aramaic documents postulated by Professor Torrey. To a student of Greek, rich in first century philological materials of all sorts, literary, documentary, and epigraphic, this would seem to put these novel theories at a serious disadvantage at the outset. A few fragmentary apocalypses may with some probability be assigned to the first half of the first century, but even these are mostly known to us through their Greek remains. Looking broadly at early Christian history it would seem that it was the impact of the Christian movement upon Greek life that resulted in the literary precipitate we find in early Christian literature. That Christianity had found literary expression in Aramaic or Hebrew is by no means a matter of course. We should have first to show that Aramaic or Hebrew populations of the time had a bent for literary expression. But it is precisely here that evidence is strikingly meager. Over against the steadily rising tide of Greek literary expression of Christianity, Palestinian Judaism and Christianity are all but mute.

But even if a few scattered apocalypses can with some confidence be referred to the first century, this will not suffice. A further question must be raised with reference to the Palestinian Aramaic-reading population. Had it the habit or instinct for contemporary historical composition?

Two or three centuries later, indeed, the Jews came to commit to writing masses of material long current among them in oral form. But these do not establish a habit of written historical composition in the first Christian century. Quite the contrary. They show that the Aramaic way at that early time was not to write but to remember. If a Jew wanted to write, he wrote in Greek—Philo, Paul, Josephus. Did they also write in Aramaic? It is not absolutely impossible, but if they did so, what they wrote perished unregarded through the fault of their Aramaic public. This is very much the same as saying that there was no substantial Aramaic-reading public for them to address. Just as Paul had to enter the Greek world before he found a public

to write to, so had Philo, and so had Josephus. Against the vera causa of these three great Jewish writers of Greek literature, I at least am able to muster on the most liberal interpretation of first century Palestinian Aramaic a scant five or ten pages of extant material. Is this an adequate guarantee of an Aramaic-reading public worth writing for? We may not lightly assume that because there were Aramaic-speaking people living in Judea in the first century and possessed of a meager literature, there must have been an appreciable reading public there. The genius of the Greek world was for books, old and new. It was a reading and writing world. That the Aramaic people of the first century were of the same sort cannot be taken for granted but calls for massive evidence.

Moreover as has often been observed the primitive expectation of the speedy return of Jesus in Messianic splendor to usher in the new Messianic age was a definite deterrent to considered literary composition in Christian circles. It was not even worth while to marry, or to be manumitted, or to change one's condition in any respect. The time was short. The Lord was at the doors. This was unquestionably the atmosphere of the first age, that is till A. D. 70 at any rate. Such an atmosphere would not deter men from writing an occasional letter of course, and the literature of this period is prevailingly letters. We should hardly expect it to produce actual books, in the sense of reasoned literary compositions designed to meet a given situation and to circulate among a considerable definite public. Face to face with the Last Judgment, primitive Christians were in no mood to write history. For whom were they to write it?

The Fall of Jerusalem in a sense encouraged these apocalyptic hopes and yet at the same time began to put a period to them. Its first effect must have been to quicken and stimulate immediate apocalyptic expectation. Surely now the Messiah would appear! But as time went on and it became clear that even that great catastrophe had not ushered in the End, apocalyptic expectation must have fallen lower than it had ever been since the death of Jesus. In such a situation, with the first glimmering sense that the church might be facing a long future, thoughtful men might naturally think of writing accounts of the

great movement in the midst of which they were living. One such man was the author of Acts.

It must be further observed that the existing documents of primitive Christianity give little encouragement to the theory of primitive Christian historical writings, Aramaic or Greek. Paul in I Cor. gives clear evidence of using an oral compend of Jesus' deeds, sayings, and passion in his missionary work; and Luke in his famous preface reflects the same practice. Occasional sayings of Jesus cited in Acts, I Thessalonians and I Clement reflect the same custom; at all events they are not found in our gospels and yet evidently stood in some gospel-form then current and familiar. On the other hand there is little evidence from the first century of the use and influence of our written gospels, except for the use of Mark by Matthew and Luke. The meaning of these facts seems to be that the oral compend served the first century Greek Christians at all events, as a gospel; that the idea of putting it into writing did not present itself for some time, and that even when written gospels did appear, the old familiar oral form long overshadowed them, somewhat as the old Authorized Version still overshadows the Revised Versions. The facts of the first century do not favor the idea of an early craving for written gospels, but rather indicate a general satisfaction with the oral compend attested by Paul and Luke.

It would be strange to find any contemporary Aramaic historical composition from the middle of the first century. It would be doubly strange to find such a work produced in a Christian group, which was living from day to day in lively expectation of the end. Yet within this curious double vacuum the supporters of I Acts have conjured up a whole Christian Semitic literature. There is the Hebrew original of our Luke chapters 1 and 2, dealing with the births and early years of John and of Jesus. There is the Aramaic Gospel of Mark. There is the Aramaic original of Luke 24. There is the Aramaic Gospel of Matthew. There is I Acts.

If this new literature is to be taken seriously and definitely built upon in Synoptic and other study, certain questions must be asked and answered. They are the familiar inquiries of introduction. Who wrote I Acts? This does not mean, What

was his name? That would matter little. The question is, What were his ideas and his horizons, and what was his circle? Again, what historical situation called forth the book, and where and when did this situation arise? This should be easily gathered from the book itself, as from most of the documents of the New Testament. A third question remains: For what public was the book produced? The answering of these questions will integrate the document in history and put us in a position to deal with it practically. Every newly discovered document has to stand the test of these inquiries. Indeed this is far the more important aspect of Professor Torrey's discoveries. If these documents did indeed exist they throw the whole primitive history of Christianity into a new perspective because of the several situations and the several publics they imply. Not what they report but what they reflect is of first importance.

Now if I Acts be a Palestinian Aramaic document of the middle of the first century it at once reveals an author. He has traced the spread of Christianity from Jerusalem to Antioch and Cyprus and Galatia, with especial interest in its groping its way gradually out of Jewish groups, first among proselytes and devout persons, then into Samaritan communities, then into Greek. Although writing in the midst of the primitive movement he has reversed the course of events and read back the Christian missionary program into the very beginnings of the church. He is interested in the rise of the Greek mission even before it has become a considerable and succesful movement. Not only is he interested, but he has become the historian of the infant project. It is like writing the biography of a not very promising child before it has grown up. But the difficulty of understanding the attitude of the author of the work is less than that of understanding the occasion of his work and still less than that of visualizing the public for which he produced it.

The greatest thing about a book is not its execution but its conception. The greatest thing about Acts is its idea. The thought of sketching the rise of the Greek Mission was an inspiration. In a time when that mission was a splendid and flourishing reality, such an inspiration is conceivable. In a time when it was still a feeble and dubious experiment viewed askance by

most of the brotherhood, some of them zealous enough to follow up its founders and seek to undo their work, I find it quite incomprehensible. In the eighties such an inspiration is natural. In the forties it is an anachronism. But the difficulty of believing in I Acts is greatest when we seek an appropriate public for it. To the Greek churches of the west in the last quarter of the first century such a book as Acts would have been of the greatest interest and inspiration. It was the story of their own beginnings, and integrated them honorably in the heroic period of the new religion. It was like the Greek mind to want such a work, and like the Greek mind to conceive it, and like the Greek mind again to welcome and preserve it. These were the very churches that produced in this very generation the Revelation of John, and the Gospel of Luke, and in the next the Pauline corpus, the Gospel of John, and the Fourfold Gospel collection, and that called forth the letters of Clement, Ignatius and Polycarp. Can this extraordinary thirst for Christian literature be matched anywhere else at that or any earlier period? For such a public Acts had to be written. In such an atmosphere it is perfectly natural and appropriate. There were men in plenty to read it and to prize it, and there would be a man to write it. That that Greek Christian reading public about the Aegean at the turn of the century could produce its own writers most of the New Testament is evidence.

Turn back now to the middle of the century and to the Aramaic brethren of Judea. What need had a Jewish Messianic sect for a Christian literature? It already had a valued Messianic literature in the Hebrew Old Testament. What evidence have we of any thirst on their part for new books? What writers did they produce? What written collections did they assemble and circulate? Above all what interest would attach for them to the story of the precarious introduction of the gospel among humble little circles in obscure settlements of the interior of Asia Minor,—all that I Acts contains,—and at the expense of the very things that they themselves prized most, their Jewish separatism and privilege? Such a story would mean little enough to us, without the brilliant sequel. It does not arrive. It would mean far less to them, beside being vastly less congenial.

That there should have been a Palestinian Christian Aramaic-reading public about A. D. 50 interested to read how the gospel was already feeling its way past them into the Greek world seems very near the height of improbability. Certainly it would require most cogent proof to establish the rise of such a document in such a circle at such a time.

Professor Torrey has well said in his essay on "Original Aramaic Gospels", p. 274, in speaking of Hebraisms: "It is only when the idiom is one link in a long chain that it becomes convincing; then indeed it may have an absolutely compelling force. The argument is cumulative; we are concerned with the continuous impression made by a great mass of material, rather than with a number of striking instances,—though these are to be had in abundance when they are sought for." Now in his discussion of I Acts, Professor Torrey has exhibited a number of striking instances. But these of course really prove nothing since by the conditions of the situation practically all the speakers and ultimate sources of the historian's information spoke Semitic. This has generally been understood. But to establish I Acts as an Aramaic document these striking instances do not suffice. For that, we desiderate precisely that "continuous impression made by a great mass of material" of which Professor Torrey has spoken. And as one reads I Acts paragraph by paragraph, steadily savoring its literary quality, it is just that continuous impression that it fails to give. One finds himself now in the familiar Semitic atmosphere, now in a realm slightly Semitic, now in the purest and most unadulterated Koiné of Epictetus and the papyri. If Luke is all the time faithfully translating from an Aramaic source this is inexplicable.

Moreover the whole feeling of the narrative changes again and again. You can feel that the historian has finished with what his immediate source, whether oral or written, has given him and is filling in the narrative from such information as he can get, until he can take up another account and follow it through. The middle part of ch. 9 is a good example of this (verses 19–30). My own impression of the material of I Acts is that so far from suggesting derivation from a single source through a single translator, it is strikingly varied in both matter

and manner. Now it is more Semitic, now less so, now very Greek. Now it is full and repetitious, now concise and summary. Now it is richly legendary, now coolly matter of fact. Now it is full of Septuagint reminiscence, now it is wholly free from it for pages at a time. All this speaks for a variety of probably oral sources, most of them of course ultimately Semitic, and I should suppose probably Aramaic, but probably all of them unwritten.

The Semites have been great story tellers, not I think great historians. There are the stories of Genesis and Samuel and Kings and the Arabian Nights, of Jonah, Daniel, Tobit, and Ahikar. Jesus himself was a teller of stories, as not a few parables attest. To that illustrious line belong, I believe, the stories of I Acts. No Greek could have produced them. But who but a Greek could have made such amazing use of them? To conceive the rise of a movement and trace it patiently, and on the whole fairly objectively, through a long series of apparently detached incidents till at the end what one has been driving at all along at length stands clear,—the insight and restraint and historical scent of this proceeding seem to me only Greek. To credit it to an Aramaic Jew is to confound the specific geniuses of the two races.

That Luke should sometimes retain a half Semitic diction is not in the least strange when we recall that for years he must have read the Septuagint and heard it read in church. Professor Burkitt finds some of the alleged Aramaisms in Acts better Septuagint than Aramaic, and the late Professor Moulton in the new part of his Grammar, concludes, p. 21, that Luke knew no Aramaic. "Had he been his own translator, we should have expected to find the same evenness in the distribution of Aramaisms as we find in those general features of grammar and style which so overwhelmingly vindicate the unity of the two books Ad Theophilum."

The ingenious argument of Professor Torrey as to the impossibility of composing in what he describes as translation Greek goes rather too far. The imitation of biblical diction is one of the commonest of literary phenomena. Most old-fashioned prayers were of that description. Many English hymns exhibit the same

quality. Much alleged undergraduate humor takes that form. The chief modern example is the Book of Mormon, which none of us I suppose acknowledges as a translation at all. The biblical style of John Bunyan cited by Moulton (Grammar, II, p. 8), is a happier illustration. And generally speaking it is the people who are least acquainted with Semitic languages who are most fascinated with composing in this half Semitic English.

Professor Torrey quotes some very Hebraic phrases from the Lucan canticles and then remarks (*Original Aramaic Gospels*, p. 286), "This is not the Κοινή of Palestine. It is not "the dialect of the market place of Alexandria". It is not even "the colloquial Greek of men whose original language and ways of thinking were Semitic, and whose expression was influenced at every turn by the phraseology of the Old Testament". It is *translation Greek*, and nothing else. I do not believe that any ancient writer, Jewish or Christian, ever produced Greek of this variety by any natural literary process. It could not have been produced unconsciously, that is certain. Could anyone write unconsciously even the smoothest of the translation-English which I have just quoted?"

But may not just this be affirmed of many familiar English hymns, which have never been suspected of being translations from the Semitic? The familiar

Hallelujah, Thine the Glory! Hallelujah, Amen!
Hallelujah, Thine the Glory! Revive us again!

is highly Semitic. Half of it is straight Hebrew, from Ps. 106 48. The six words that remain are quoted from 1 Chron. 29 11 ("Thine is . . . the glory") and Ps. 85 6 (7) ("Wilt thou not revive us again?"). Every word of it is derivable from and restorable from the Hebrew. The structural parallelism is unmistakable, cf. Pss. 148, 150. This is not the Koiné of the nineteenth century. It is not the dialect of the market place of New York or Chicago. It is not even the colloquial English of men whose original language and ways of thinking were Semitic and whose expression was influenced at every turn by the phraseology of the Old Testament. It is (if we accept the principles of Professor Torrey) *translation-English*, and nothing else, and we may congratulate ourselves upon having demonstrated that our old favorite 'Hallelujah, Thine the Glory' is a translation of an ancient Hebrew psalm now lost, but easily recoverable with the aid of the Hebrew Bible as follows:

הַלְלוּיָהּ לְךָ הַתִּפְאֶרֶת
הַלְלוּיָהּ אָמֵן׃
הַלְלוּיָהּ לְךָ הַתִּפְאֶרֶת
שׁוּבָה חַיֵּינוּ׃

Such are the remarkable results of Professor Torrey's literary principles when applied to hymns outside the Lucan Canticles. It is perhaps unnecessary to observe that men do not always write their hymns in the forms of colloquial speech, still less in the dialect of the market place. They write them in what may be called religious phraseology, which we have learned from the English Bible, and which the Greek Christians of the first century absorbed from the Septuagint.

On the other hand, the maintainance of a unified style and literary atmosphere throughout an extended work like Acts, dealing with widely different scenes and circles and based upon diverse sources of information, is very difficult; indeed it is one of the severest tests of literary skill. But probably all will agree that Luke is not greatly concerned for literary form. He is interested in presenting a certain historical movement and setting it in a certain light. The literary form in which he does this is of no such moment to him as it would have been to a seasoned Greek man of letters. It does not matter to him that on one page he is reproducing the half Semitic style in which he had heard a story told, and to which long acquaintance with the Septuagint had accustomed him; while on another he is following the easy Greek diction of another informant, and on a third is freely composing from facts he had himself observed.

To sum up; I can find for comparison no such body of written contemporary Palestinian Aramaic material as the I Acts theory implies. One is further disturbed by the general Aramaic indisposition to literary composition at the time in question, which is well nigh absolute, and is doubly striking in contrast with contemporary Greek volubility. A step further, we are dismayed to perceive how unfavorable all this is to the writing up of immediately contemporary events in historical form. The improbability is heightened by the character of the events described which are hardly such as we should expect a Judean disciple to rejoice in, least of all in Aramaic. Putting aside these misgivings, however, and assuming author, medium, and idea, what is the occasion of the composition of I Acts? Fronting with all the saints of his day the immediate return of the Messiah, what pressing situation leads its writer to literary composition? But the most difficult question of all remains. For what public was

it composed? What Palestinian circle of Aramaic readers reacted to this up-to-date pro-Gentile historical sketch, and scattered copies of it as far as Rome?

There are two ways of viewing a document as there are of viewing a manuscript. One may look at the details of a handwriting or one may hold a page at arm's length and look at the general effect of the whole. If one looks at the general characteristics of Acts, as we have it, it seems at once to suggest a time when the Greek mission is triumphant and Greek Christians are sufficiently mature to feel an interest in the story of the movement in the high tide of which they are living. Harnack's appreciation of the aim and occasion of Acts as set forth in the introduction to his *Acts of the Apostles* seems to me altogether convincing, in spite of the fact that he is himself I suppose no longer convinced by it. Its purpose may fairly be described as historical, but of course it is history with a purpose. That purpose is to inform Greek Christians as to how the Gospel groped its way from Jerusalem out into the Greek world until it was established in the central cities of the empire; and further to confirm their faith by showing the providential and even supernatural guidance that had followed the movement all the way. It forms part of a larger work of which the Gospel of Luke is the first volume, and like that book it presents early in its course a frontispiece, 2 1ff. which foreshadows the story it is to tell. "The plan of his double work," says Professor Scott, "—for the Gospel and the Acts must be taken together—, is a truly magnificent one. He sets himself to show how the message destined for all mankind found its way to all, diffusing itself in ever widening circles over the whole world" (*Beginnings of the Church,* p. 23). To look at Luke as a work completed before Acts was thought of, it to lose sight of the incompleteness of Luke in the matter of the Holy Spirit, which is promised indeed in Luke but is not bestowed until early in Acts.

Of its public I have spoken above. Its date rests upon a series of considerations. The infancy, miracle, and resurrection attitudes are markedly later and more extreme than those of Matthew, and sometimes decidedly verge toward those of the

infancy gospels of the second century. The writer's idea of speaking with tongues is the late (linguistic) one of the Long Conclusion of Mark; not the early (ecstatic) one of the Pauline time. The writer is sufficiently removed from the primitive community to be able to read back into its time the missionary program. He writes at a time when the twelve apostles have come to be recognized as the authorities of the church, and when a post-Pauline polity is already at least measurably established. The sects are beginning to appear for they come in for the same vague invective that is employed in the Pastorals.

But the most significant feature of Acts in this connection is its reflection of the fate of Paul. As Professor Bacon admirably puts it, "As to Paul the reader is not really left in ignorance. His fate is made known, but made known with that chaste reticence which the Greek poets employ when they only report through others the tragedies enacted behind the scenes. In the great farewell discourse of Acts 20 17–38 the martyr takes his leave. In Acts 28 17–31 the tragedy is veiled behind the triumph of the cause" ("More Philological Criticism of Acts", *Amer. Jour. Theol.*, XXII, p. 15).

That our Acts was produced before the death of Paul is quite out of the question in view of the farewell journey of chapters 20 and 21. The universal tendency of the human mind to dwell upon foreboding, presentiment and apprehension after the fact, is daily illustrated, and has in the late war been exemplified on an unparalleled scale. Almost everybody we know who lost his life, is now said to have had and expressed a presentiment of his fate. Of course thousands of those who survived had them too; but their presentiments are forgotten. Paul uttered many discourses on his last journey to Jerusalem; one of them lasted all night long, and if fully reported would have filled the whole book of Acts. It is not reported at all. All that is reported from Paul's utterances and conversations on this journey has to do with his approaching death, for which he is seeking to prepare his friends. But if he is still alive when Acts is published all these gratuitous presentiments become mere weakness. Paul might indeed have said such things among a thousand others; but why should the historian have singled them out for record?

Of course because they have been fulfilled. But I should go further than this. The death of Paul as I read the Acts is not even recent. It is long past, and Paul has become a hallowed memory, so that his last will and testament to the Ephesian elders—was Acts then written under the shadow of Ephesus?—is freighted with the authority of one whose greatness has been vindicated by the passing years. His figure has grown to heroic proportions, while his fellow workers have dwindled to mere background. All this brings us to the late eighties or early nineties.

For the terminus ad quem I should look to the collision of the church with the empire over Emperor worship about the close of Domitian's reign, reflected in the Revelation of John, I Peter, Hebrews and I Clement, and in retrospect at least in the Pliny-Trajan correspondence. The atmosphere of Acts is not clouded, as these documents are, with contemporary persecution. It rather emphasizes the generally tolerant and even favorable attitude of the Roman authority. This would be most natural toward the close of that generation of comparative quiet which the churches enjoyed between the short, sharp attack of Nero in 64 and that of Domitian thirty years later.

Professor Foakes-Jackson is no doubt right in saying that it is impossible to say with any degree of positiveness that Luke, the companion of Paul, was the final redactor of Acts, and that Acts as we have it comes from a Pauline source. Yet it does seem to me decidedly probable that it comes from a Pauline source, for the Greek churches about the Aegean still considered themselves Pauline at the beginning of the second century, and the writer who drew the heroic figure of Paul in Acts had a notable appreciation of some aspects at least of Paul. I am not sure that Paul himself fully realized all the implications for Jewish believers of his doctrine of freedom from the law; it is just possible he himself would not measure up to our ideas of a thoroughgoing Paulinist. Our criticism is leaning over backward when it balks at the plain clue of the We-narratives, as though the authorship of Acts were a crime and the writer must constantly be suspected of throwing us off the scent. In short I can see no more probable solution for the intricate problem

of the authorship of Acts than the traditional one, that the writer was Luke the companion of Paul. The prefaces of Luke and Acts make it probable that these books were not anonymously put forth as Mark and Matthew seem to have been. Mark and Matthew were rather Semitically conceived, as community products, as it were; Luke and Acts are more individually introduced, in the Greek manner. We have therefore a right to expect more from tradition in the case of Luke-Acts than in the case of Matthew or Mark.

One is indeed confronted with one very real difficulty as one strives to define a view upon the origin of Acts. If the idea came to Luke only in the time of Domitian, when the Greek mission was in full career, how does he come to possess all this wealth of primitive materials, so full of antique color? The dificulty is a serious one. But two considerations somewhat relieve it. First, this wealth of material proves upon examination to be no very great matter after all. It is striking, rather than voluminous. A thoughtful man could have carried all of it and more in memory for a generation. This would be doubly easy if Luke had used it often in his preaching.

But this is not enough. The stylistic varieties within I Acts (which seem to me just as considerable as those within Acts as a whole) are too great to be thus explained. They suggest to me that while in Palestine the writer had heard told from time to time stories, of Aramaic origin of course, and had noted them down much as he heard them. Could he have done this without having as yet planned his two-volume work? Most assuredly he could. The author of Luke-Acts is the most considerable writer in the New Testament, and of them all he may most safely be credited with literary habits somewhat like our own. Does no one nowadays collect literary or historical materials without knowing all the uses he may within thirty years have occasion to put them to? Luke may have gathered much more than he used in Acts, or in Luke-Acts. He may well have gathered it, or at least jotted it down, simply for his own enjoyment and satisfaction. He may have seen its great religious usefulness, and used it year after year in preaching in the west; more than one of us I am sure has noted a thing down or copied it out of

some fugitive sheet, for its sheer interest, and later made telling use of it in ways he never dreamed of at the beginning. There is really nothing improbable in the noting down of these stories by a Greek visitor to Palestine (did not Greek prose begin in just this way with the Logographers?) without any immediate historical design in mind. To a non-Palestinian Christian coming at length into the land and the circle of which he had heard so much, the value of such primitive oral material would be manifest, as it would not to those who lived in the midst of it. In the Christian circles of Palestine everybody knew it; in the Christian circles of the West, nobody knew it. It would take a man from the outer world to see the worth of all this miscellany of wonder stories; just as it takes a man from the outside to feel the value of the ballads of the Kentucky mountaineers, or of the legends of the Ojibwas.

By these considerations I am encouraged to conclude that there is no improbability in Luke's having collected much literary material on his visits to Palestine, and long years afterward, when the Greek mission was in full swing, conceiving the idea of using some of it in the composition of Acts. This would be like the Diarist of the We-Sections. It would explain the patchwork character which I feel so strongly in I Acts. It would explain why one episode is very Aramaic in tone, and another very Greek: they come from different informants with different degrees of Greek culture; and why the historian has himself now and then to take the laboring oar and write a paragraph of summary and transition. The wonder stories of the early part of Acts I should therefore credit to various Aramaic-speaking circles of Palestine. The man who felt their extraordinary interest enough to note them down came from outside Palestine; and years after when the success of the Greek Mission had shown the full significance of its obscure beginnings, used some of them, together with his own memoranda and recollections, in producing what we know as the Book of Acts.

PHARISEES AND HERODIANS IN MARK

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THE initial volume of the new series entitled 'The Beginnings of Christianity', containing the 'Prolegomena' to the volumes on Acts has the following utterance by 'the editors' on this subject:

> The Herodians are twice mentioned in Mark iii. 6 and xii. 13 (cf. the parallel in Matt. xxii. 16) as conspiring with the Pharisees against Jesus. The only reason for considering them as a religious sect is the absurd statement of Epiphanius that they interpreted the words of Gen. xlix. 10 ('the sceptre shall not depart from Judah, etc.'), of Herod—presumably Herod the Great; but probability and the form of the word in Latin suggest that they were the partisans of Herod. The Herod of the Gospels being Antipas, Tetrarch of Galilee, 'Herodian' would then naturally mean one of his court or of his party. It is noticeable that in Mark these 'Herodians' appear once in Galilee and once in Jerusalem on an occasion when, according to Luke, Herod was in that city.[1]

The editors' aim in this excerpt appears to be apologetic. They aim to show that the evangelist may be correct in referring to a group of co-conspirators with the Pharisees as 'Herodians', although, as they later admit (p. 120), 'there is no other evidence as to the existence of a party, much less a sect, of Herodians' at this time. We are therefore asked to understand the word in the sense of members of Herod's 'court', or 'of his party', using the word 'party' in some other sense than the one in which

[1] Vol. I, p. 119.

it could be said that there is no other evidence for its existence. Thus Josephus in speaking of the various delegations to Rome to protest against the carrying out of the will of Herod I, surnamed the Great, 'refers to certain supporters of the claims of Antipas among the relatives of Archelaus as preferring to have Antipas rather than Archelaus, if they could not obtain their first choice of being put under a Roman governor.[2] Such a group among Antipas' own relatives might have been called by Josephus *οἱ τοῦ Ἡρώδου*, though I am unable to discover any passage either in the *Antiquities* or the *War* where it actually occurs.[3] Does the evangelist really refer to a group of this sort?

For two reasons we must refuse to admit a parallel even were the phrase *οἱ τοῦ Ἡρώδου* to be found. (1) Josephus has prepared the reader for mention of a group of supporters of Herod's claims by previous description of the conflict of interests. In Mark no previous description of any kind has been given. 'The Herodians' appear as a group or party with whose aims and ideals the reader is assumed to be familiar. (2) The term *Ἡρωδιανοί* employed by Mark is by no means identical in meaning with *οἱ τοῦ Ἡρώδου*. It cannot mean 'courtier of Herod', as the editors propose, a sense expressed in Jn. 4 46 by the word *βασιλικός*, but requires the sense of 'partisan', or 'adherent'.

The editors we quote betray a sense of the difficulty of finding any such group, or party, in Jesus' time by their effort in the succeeding paragraphs to show that members of Antipas' court might have been in Jerusalem on the occasion of Mk. 12 13, and that Herod I, and even Antipas, sought to conciliate their Jewish subjects, and might therefore (?) be assumed to have their partisans, or adherents, among the people. If such there were would the evangelist be apt to introduce on the first occasion (3 6) without comment so unnatural an alliance as this would be between the Pharisees (!) and disloyal sycophants of a hated and alien court?

Cheyne, on the other hand, in his article 'Herodians' in the

2 The passage (*Ant.* XVII, ix. 3) was called to the writer's attention by the kindness of Professor W. J. Moulton, of Bangor, Me.

3 In *B. J.* I, xvi. 6 Josephus speaks of Jews who took sides with Herod I against Antigonus as *Ἡρωδείοι*.

Encyclopaedia Biblica, while he considers the meaning 'members of the household of Herod' 'unsuitable in Mk 12 13', thinks it supposable that there were at this time *in Judea* Jews 'who longed for the re-establishment of the Herodian kingdom in spite of its subjection to Rome, as representing that union of Hellenism and Judaism which seemed to enable Jews to 'make the best of both worlds' '. Of the occurrence of the term in Mk. 3 6, however, he says bluntly: 'This is evidently a mistake. In the country of the Tetrarch Antipas there could not be a party called 'Herodians' '.

In spite of the single passage where Matthew permits the term to stand in his transcript of Mark we may properly regard it as distinctively a Markan expression; for it never occurs in Luke, and is cancelled in the Matthean parallel to its first occurrence. Moreover, the corresponding expression of Mk. 8 15 'the leaven of Herod', where a few texts also read 'Herodians', is cancelled in both parallels, Matthew substituting 'of the Sadducees', and Luke having 'of the Pharisees' only. At least in this case Matthew must have understood a politico-religious sect to be intended, for he expressly declares that the word 'leaven' was used symbolically of 'the teaching' of the sects referred to. Quite possibly his elimination of the term in 12 14 and substitution of 'Sadducees' here may be due to his belief that no such sect existed at the time. Luke's avoidance of it may be due to a similar cause. Of course it does not follow that this *was* Mark's meaning. So far as the two passages referred to by the editors of *Beginnings of Christianity* are concerned it is quite true that 'probability and the form of the word in Latin suggest that (the Herodians) were the partisans of Herod'. However, we cannot leave wholly out of account the Markan form of the logion. This appears in its simplest and doubtless in its most authentic form in Luk 12 1 as 'Beware of the leaven of the Pharisees'. The Markan context suggests that here too the evangelist who adds 'and of the leaven of Herod' is speaking of the same conspiracies as in 3 6 and 12 13. Now we are indeel under under no necessity of holding (whether Matthew does so or not) that Mark has in mind a 'religious sect'. But it must be admitted that in Judaism the distinction

between religious sects and political parties is a vanishing one, and that the connection made in two (if not three) instances between 'Herodians' and Pharisees implies that to Mark's mind the two groups had something in common. What, then, did Mark mean by 'the Herodians'? and on what ground did he represent them as fellow-conspirators with the Pharisees against Jesus?

In their effort to prove that in some sense of the word a 'party' of 'Herodians' might have existed at this time, the editors of *Beginnings of Christianity* remind us that 'Herod the Great certainly did all in his power to conciliate his Jewish subjects, especially the Pharisaic party', and suggest the possibility that 'some Jews may have fixed their hopes on the Herodian family as saviours of the nation'. They even think it 'possible that Antipas' marriage (to Herodias) was prompted by a politic desire to secure Jewish support by an alliance with a Hasmonean princess'. This belief, however, we cannot share with them, much less the belief that the cause of the Baptist's execution 'may well have been' his disapproval of this policy, and that 'Herod's attitude to Jesus may be accounted for in the same manner'. The least reliable historically of all sections of Mark is the digression in 6 17–29 (omitted by Luke and partially corrected by Matthew) which depicts the prophet in colors derived from the story of Elijah denouncing Ahab and plotted against by Jezebel. In this dramatic tale the authentic scene of the preacher of repentance to the multitudes who flock to him 'in the wilderness of Judea' from Jerusalem and Judea to be baptized in Jordan is suddenly transferred to Tiberias. John is now in the midst of those 'who are in kings' houses'. He addresses not the publicans and sinners who 'went out into the wilderness' to seek the prophet-anchorite, but utters his message to 'the king' like one of the old-time prophets who declare the state policy of Jehovah against that of worldly-minded monarchs. For Mark ignores the unlikelihood of any opportunity before his imprisonment for John to speak his message directly to Herod and declares that he was imprisoned for a rebuke uttered 'to Herod' in person. Moreover he makes the place of incarceration not (as Josephus tells us) the remote fortress of Machaerus near the

scene of John's activity[4] but the palace at Tiberias, where the prophet can be executed at the demand of the 'little maid'[5] to please Herodias whom Mark calls 'Philip's wife'[6] at the 'king's' feast to the nobles 'of Galilee'. No wonder H. J. Holtzmann calls this story 'the very pattern of legend'. We have every reason to prefer the picture of the Baptist in the Second Source, which places in Jesus' own mouth utterances as completely at variance with this dramatic story of the martyrdom of the second Elijah as they are in agreement with the brief and unvarnished account of Josephus.[7]

Mark speaks of Antipas as 'the king', and depicts him as offering' 'the half of my kingdom' after the manner of Ahasuerus to Esther. We need not suppose that in so doing he is actually confusing the mere Tetrarch of Galilee with Agrippa I, the brother of his paramour, who shortly after did become a 'king', with dominions extending over the whole domain of his grandfather Herod I. The confusion is more likely to be limited to the matter of title, position and policy. It is true that Agrippa I is spoken of simply as 'Herod' in the story of his execution of James the son of Zebedee and persecution of the Church in

[4] The idea is expressed in *Beginnings of Christianity* that John was imprisoned in Tiberias for greater safety; because he would be recognized by Aretas, father of the repudiated wife of Antipas, as a supporter, and hence would be liable to rescue by the Nabateans from the border fortress of Machaerus. This hardly calls for refutation.

[5] A *κοράσιον* according to Mark. In reality the divorced wife, or widow, of Aristobulus, if not already in the position assigned to her mother by Mark as wife of Antipas' 'brother Philip.' She was at this time at least 20 years of age.

[6] She was really the wife of Antipas' half-brother Herod.

[7] Lk 7 18–35 = Mt 11 2–19. In Mt 11 2 the evangelist inserts the words 'in the prison' to conform to the representation borrowed from Mark. In Luke there is nothing to alter the impression made by the narrative itself that John is still at liberty, as in the representation of Jn. 3 22–24 The words of Jesus to the crowds in both forms of Q imply a ministry for the Baptist of the type described by Josephus (*Ant.* XVIII, v. 2), and are destitute of anything suggestive of the prophet's turning aside from his message of repentance to the multitudes who 'came forth to him from Jerusalem and all Judaea' (Mk. 1 5), including some 'from the region round about Jordan' (Mt 3 5 = Lk 3 3), to castigate the domestic vices or court intrigues of the non-Jewish Tetrarch of Galilee and Samaria

Acts 12. But Mark must have known that Herod Antipas and Herod Agrippa were not one and the same. We need assume no more than that his ideas of the complicated relations of the Herodian family were vague, and that he conceived of Antipas as exercising some of the royalty of his father, surnamed the Great, or of his despicable nephew and brother-in-law. Perhaps in his mental picture of Antipas he introduced unconsciously traits from that of Agrippa I, or that of Agrippa II, who in Acts 26 28 is 'almost persuaded' by the eloquence of his prisoner 'to be a Christian'. Anyway, giving Mark the benefit of every doubt, it is impossible to deny — and this is the only point we have now to consider — that his ideas of the Tetrarch and his relations with the Baptist and Jesus are strongly tinctured by his knowledge of other more conspicuous members of the family to whom the designation 'Herod the King' could properly be applied. Was there a corresponding influence upon his idea of 'the Herodians'?

'Herod' in Acts (that is Agrippa I) is quite correctly depicted as seeking to curry favor with 'the Jews' by his execution of James son of Zebedee and persecution of the Church. He may have overdone the matter, as Nero did after the burning of Rome, and as the high priest Ananus did in putting to death the other James, 'the Lord's brother' in 62 A. D., shortly before his own deposition by Agrippa II. But he certainly proceeded much further than his grandfather in the policy of 'conciliating his Jewish subjects, especially the Pharisaic party,' and as we happen to know with very marked success. The reason both for the policy and for its success is self-evident. Herod I in spite of the detestation of his subjects, could sometimes be conciliatory, though for the most part in vain. Of Antipas we cannot even assert the attempt. For to imagine the lustful Tetrach as impelled by reasons of state policy in his intrigue with Herodias because of her descent from the Jewish royal stock is a notion which the editors must forgive us for regarding as somewhat fantastic. Antipas did entertain ambitions, suggested according to Josephus by his paramour, of obtaining from Claudius the title of 'king', and lost what he had in the vain attempt to secure it at Rome. But Herodias' only part in the business (aside from kindling the ambition) was to share the exile it entailed as a

punishment upon the intriguer. Antipas was 'fox' enough to know that his relations with Herodias would do far more to make him odious to 'his Jewish subjects, especially the Pharisaic party', than to 'conciliate' them.

But Agrippa's claims to descent from the Jewish royal line were not in the name of a consort who would not even be recognized as a wife by the people whose favor was sought, but in his own right and by legitimate descent. He was the sole male survivor of the ancient stock of the Maccabees, the grandson of Mariamne the Hasmonean and Herod the great, a favorite of the imperial court at Rome from his childhood. And he made the utmost of these facts, especially his Jewish pedigree.

As our editors declare, Agrippa 'was accepted by the Jews as the best of kings, being like his sister Herodias, a Hasmonean on the mother's side.' Schürer, after narrating the acts of religious piety with which the quondam adventurer began his reign, describes its general policy in the following terms:

> There were again golden days for Pharisaism; a revival of the age of Alexandra. Hence Josephus and the Talmud are unanimous in sounding forth the praises of Agrippa. 'He loved to live continually at Jerusalem, and was exactly careful in the observance of the laws of his country. He therefore kept himself entirely pure; nor did any day pass over his head without its appointed sacrifice.' Thus runs the eulogistic strain of Josephus; and the Talmud relates how as a simple Israelite he presented with his own hand the first-fruits in the temple. * * * By such displays of piety he gave abundant satisfaction to the people who were under the guidance of the Pharisees. This was shown in a very striking manner when, at the Feast of Tabernacles in A. D. 41, according to the old custom, he read the Book of Deuteronomy, and in the passage, 'Thou mayest not set over thee (as king) a stranger that is not thy brother' (Deut. 17 15), he burst into tears because he felt himself to be referred to in it. Then the people cried out to him, 'Be not grieved, Agrippa! Thou art our brother! Thou art our brother!'[8]

[8] The passage (from the Mishna, *Sota*, vii. 8) is clearly built upon Deut. 14 15, not upon 23 8, 9. Our editors, accordingly, do it much less

If Pharisaism be taken to mean hypocrisy Agrippa was 'a Pharisee of Pharisees.' But in presence of the fulsome eulogies of Josephus and the Talmud we have no need to prove the success of his policy. And if any New Testament writer had occasion to appreciate the sinister significance of this 'revival of the age of Alexandra' with its unexpected rapprochement between the Pharisees and the ruling circles it was Mark. The example of Josephus in itself is enough to prove how many must at this time have become 'Herodians,' and the effects of the alliance upon the disciples of Jesus are not likely to have faded from the mind of the young man in whose mother's house the persecuted Church was assembled to pray for Peter's escape, when 'Herod' had put forth his hand and slain James the brother of John with the sword, and next, seeing that 'it pleased the Jews', had proceeded to arrest Peter also.

'Pharisees and Herodians' together saw the fruition of their dearest hopes when Claudius at the beginning of his reign (41 A. D.) restored to the protégé of his predecessor Caius the full dominion and sovereignty which Augustus had denied to the heirs of Herod I. Their expectations were fully met when the new king gave proof of his policy by this 'affliction' of the Church. If, then, Mark in the Gospel had been speaking of the times when the Book of Acts first brings Agrippa I to our notice nothing could have been more natural than to think of 'Pharisees and Herodians' as conspiring against the life of the leaders of the Church. Unfortunately for the accuracy of the record the facts are as stated by our editors: 'There is no other evidence (that is, outside the Gospel of Mark) as to the existence of a party, much less a religious sect, of Herodians' in the time of Jesus.

Our second evangelist, whom tradition asserts to be no other than the John Mark of Mary's house in Jerusalem, but whom it credibly reports as composing his Gospel only later at Rome, after the death of Peter, with whom he had once companied as 'interpreter', must therefore be understood to mean by those

than justice in merely adopting the statement of Schürer that 'the declaration of the people could *also* be justified' on the basis of the latter passage, as if this were the only one.

'Herodians' whom he represents as conspiring with the Pharisees against the life of Jesus something more than mere members of the Tetrarch's court. Probability and the form of the word in Latin suggest that they were at least 'partisans' of Herod, and if not a 'religious sect' as near to deserving the name as those whose aims, ideals and policies are revealed by Josephus and the Talmud in the times of Agrippa I.

But if there were 'Herodians' in this sense of the word in A. D. 37—44 why should our editors reject as 'absurd' the testimony of Epiphanius to their existence, and to the fact that they took as their slogan the words of Gen. 49 10: 'The sceptre shall not depart from Judah, nor a law-giver from between his feet, until Shiloh come,' or however else they may have rendered the famous passage.

Few critics will covet the task of vindicating Epiphanius against charges of 'absurdity' when he makes his own applications of otherwise reliable Palestinian tradition, or expresses his own opinion. But in this case the tradition he cites is independently attested more than a century before by Tertullian. And neither Church father appears to be attempting either interpretation or addition. Epiphanius merely tells us that the Herodians were a Jewish sect who took Herod (our editors here interject 'presumably Herod the Great') as the ruler promised in messianic prophecy, applying to him in particular the passage from Gen. 49 10. Tertullian gives a similar definition of the Herodians without specifying the particular messianic prophecy. Now we are quite willing to grant that Epiphanius could be guilty of the 'absurdity' of applying this tradition to 'Herod the Great,' though there is nothing to show that he did. But why interject 'presumably Herod the Great' when Tertullian attempts to tell us that there was a sect or party of 'Herodians' in this sense of the word? And why, above all, interject it as the meaning of the original authors of the tradition? Gen. 49 10 is exactly the passage to be appealed to by adherents of the man whom the Book of Acts refers to simply as 'Herod,' and of whom it has nothing else to relate save his blasphemous pretensions, and his attempts to curry favor with his 'brothers' the Jews by a murderous assault upon the Church. It is just the passage to

sound the key-note of Agrippa's philo-Judean policy. If we think of it as applied to him no one would for a moment question its appropriateness, nor the likelihood that there were in his time partisans, if not a quasi-religious sect, who because they hailed Agrippa as a restorer of the sceptre to Judah might well be called 'Herodians,' especially by a writer whose Latinisms are noticeably common.

But is it supposable, finally, that our second evangelist has lapsed into such an anachronism? Has he introduced as conspirators with the Pharisees against Jesus a sect or party as to whose existence at the time there is no other evidence, and who could hardly originate before the time when some prince of native stock had prospects of attaining the throne which since Pompey's day had passed into the hands of aliens?—Possibly not, if the tradition of Markan authorship is to be taken strictly *au pied de la lettre*. Certainly not if we are to abandon the date established by second century tradition for the composition in favor of a date within Agrippa's own reign, as we have recently been invited to do. But what of this writer's story of the Baptist's fate? Surely in view of the inaccuracies of Mk. 6 14–29 we must be prepared for somewhat unhistorical conceptions on this evangelist's part of the Herods, their doings and their relations. If the assumption seem incompatible with the idea that the Gospel was written throughout in just its present form by the quondam companion of Peter, then it would be well to ask whether we are under any necessity of taking the superscription 'According to Mark' in so strict a sense.

On the other hand there is no need to think of the evangelist as arbitrarily introducing new elements into the story. The Lukan tradition, which often seems to represent the authentic form more closely than Mark, brings the Pharisees into relation with 'Herod' as against Jesus when they report the Tetrarch's threatening attitude. According to the special source of Luke (Lk. 13 31) the Pharisees tried to rid themselves of Jesus by reporting, 'Get thee out and go hence; for Herod would fain kill thee.' Indeed the part played by *Herod* in the special Lukan source (perhaps the same which in Acts tells the story of Peter's miraculous deliverance) takes on larger proportions as the stream

of Petrine tradition descends. In the *Gospel of Peter* 'Herod' is even the prime agent in the tragedy of Golgotha. There is nothing improbable in the supposition that a Roman evangelist, writing after the death of Peter, one who, even if he be John Mark himself, has very vague ideas of the Herods and their intrigues, should ante-date the policy which led to the martyrdom of the son of Zebedee in 41 A. D. Such a writer would be quite capable of introducing 'Herodians' as fellow-conspirators with the Pharisees against the life of Jesus in contexts which did not admit the presence of Herod himself. Those, therefore, who have been inclined to reject off-hand Cheyne's suggestion of a 'mistake' in Mark's first introduction of 'Herodians' into the story will do well rather to ask whether in all three cases of this Markan peculiarity we should not rather infer from the testimony of Epiphanius and Tertullian, no less than from probability and the form of the word in Latin, that we have to do with a slight anachronism on the part of the Roman evangelist.

Additional Note to p. 110. If the editors of *Beginnings* are correct in their supposition that Epiphanius refers to Herod the Great that tradition which Tertullian cites simply as of "Herod". Epiphanius' blunder will be exactly paralleled by that of the Argumentum prefixed in the Vulgate codices HΘ to the fourth Gospel. In this Argumentum Jerome's statement that "John the son of Zebedee and brother of the Apostle James was beheaded by Herod" (*de vir. ill.* ix) is emended to: "John the son of Zebedee and brother of the Apostle James *relates that John the Baptist* was beheaded by Herod". "Herod" was taken to be "presumably Herod the Great".

NOTES ON TWO SYRIAC MSS.

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THE Custodian of the Prayer Book of the Episcopal Church has in his archives (at the office in the Church Missions House, Fourth Ave. and 22 d St., New York) two Syriac MSS. on vellum, which were presented by the late J. Pierpont Morgan, Esq., in 1898. The latter purchased them from the Rev. Varoo M. Neesan, a Persian seminarian who subsequently returned as a missionary in Anglican orders to his native country. The present Custodian, Prof. Lucien M. Robinson, has kindly put these volumes in my hands for examination. While they are not rarities, it is well to make public note of all such treasures. Indeed a desideratum of our American Orientalistic science is a catalogue of the Oriental MSS. scattered throughout the country in numerous public and private libraries, which may otherwise only accidentally be brought to the light of day. The MSS. are:

A. A PESHITTA NEW TESTAMENT

I find that this MS. is one apparently referred to by the late Prof. Isaac H. Hall in a communication he made to the American Oriental Society, published in its *Proceedings,* October 1888, p. lix seqq. His communication treats at considerable length of a very similar MS., so that the present note need only be an addendum to his discussion. His general description of his MS. can be used also for mine as to size, binding, make up of quires (or rather quinions- in the present MS. there are sometimes less than the ten folios, due to the cutting out of leaves in the composition of the text). Text and script are the same in both

volumes, which present the commonly received Syriac text of the New Testament in a well formed Estranghelo script. It contains 273 folios.

The New Testament books are arranged as in Hall's MS, i. e. the Four Gospels, Acts, the 3 Catholic Epistles (Epp. James, 1 Peter, 1 John), and the 14 Pauline Epistles, including Hebrews. As in the other MS. there is a double chapter division: (1) by books (so the four Gospels separately, 78 chapters in all), or by groups of books, Acts and the Catholic Epistles, 32 chapters, and the Paulines, 55, i. e. 165 in all: and (2) a consecutive numbering through the volume, which makes its appearance with the 19th chapter of Luke and disappears in chapter 37 of the Paulines. The identical phenomenon appears in the Hall MS. I cannot explain the failure of the enumeration at the beginning and end.

The titles and colophons of the several books in general agree with those in the other MS., with following chief variations. The colophon at the end of Ep. John unites Acts and the Catholic Epp. in one group. I Cor. is assigned to Ephesus as its provenance, and Eph. to Rome (so certifying to the uncertain reading in Hall's MS.), and Tychicus is its bearer. I Tim. is assigned to Laodicea.

The colophon of the volume is not as legible as in Hall's MS. It shows the volume to be a year younger than its fellow and hailing from the same monastery. It reads:

"It was finished in the month Ab on the fourth day of the second week of Summer, whose canticle is, 'Not of the life there',[1] in the year one thousand [five hundred] and eighteen of Alexander the son of Philip the Macedonian, i. e. in the empire of the blessed Arabs six hundred and three (*A. D.* 1207). And this book was written in the convent of the holy Lord [Michael], fellow of the angels, whose prayers and supplications are with the saints, — which is in the neighborhood of the city and heroic fortress (reading *gabbârâyâ*, against Hall's *'ebrâyâ*, 'Hebrew') Mosul, protected from all injuries by the prayer of the elect and pure.

[1] The same canticle is cited under the Second Sunday of Summer in the other MS.

"Wrote this book one who is miserable and sinful(?) and a stranger and a pauper and despicable and a sinner, who is contemptible above all the sons of Adam, who is not worthy that his name be read among men .... whose name is Behnân, the priest, one of the [sons of] the convent aforesaid [*ʿăhîd*, correcting Hall's queried *ʿAhbd* as proper name], whose prayers are ..... all of it. Amen".

The next paragraphs, now mostly illegible, appear to contain a petition for indulgence from the readers, parallel to Hall's text, and for their prayers that

"the writer be aided in the day of judgment along with all men who are in the true faith of our Lord Jesus Christ. Amen. Blessed is God forever, and praised his name for all generations.

"I have written for the excellent and monastic and illuminated brother and worthy deacon and father, and son of the Admirable Love, Rabban Giurgîs, who is protected from all injuries. The Lord grant that he be crowned. And may he read and understand and [profit?], and his mind and intelligence be opened and illuminated.

"With the prayers of the saints ... and the pure. Amen. In love may he pray for my weakness. Blessed is the glory of the Lord from his place forever".

There is a spare page at the beginning and at the end of the MS. On the first is a for the most illegible rhyming composition, apparently on the Resurrection. On the last page is a note made by the man who bound (*dĕbaḳ*) the volume. He describes himself in the usual terms of depreciation, "asking and praying for everyone who chances on this book and sees the labor and toil lavished upon it by our fathers an age agone. And there came a demoniac man ..... after the plunderers [i. e. the Moguls? — cf. the colophon in Hall, p. lxviii], and he broke up and destroyed the work which was not his. And I pray of your love that you take it not ill ... in me that my intelligence knew not ..... and also his profession was not in books, but by the constraint of love and ... the Christian brotherhood I have wrought". The following is mostly illegible.

Below this is a "Notice of Books." I can make out only part of the list, viz.: "Books of the New [i. e. Testament];

Commentary on Matthew; The Two Ways [ܕܘܝܪ̈ܐ — a text of the early document underlying Ep. Barnabas, ?]; The Story of Mary .....".

There is a considerable number of marginal readings, most of which supply carets in the text. (In the following notes I refer to the folios which have been numbered in pencil.) Several of the notes give the names of accents appearing in the text, which is accented throughout. (These accents can be identified in Merx, *Historia artis grammaticae apud Syros*, p. 180). On f. 48a is read ܪܘܓ ܒܟܘ i. e. for ܪܘܓܐ ܒܟܘܝܐ; on ff. 21 Ob, 236a, 253a ܒܪܝܢܐ; on 231a an abbreviation which may stand for ܪܘܓܐ ܓܢܝܒܐ; and the letters ܪܐ, ff. 257a, 262b 265b, may stand for the accent ܪܐܡܐ.

An Arabic note twice calls the attention to a misbinding of leaves (ff. 190, 189; 198, 197. On f. 158b is the proper Arabic translation of ܠܘܠܪ̈ܐ Acts 18 3. Against Eph. 1 17, f. 234b, appears the pious phrase ܗܘ ܗܘ, "It is He".

B. A BOOK OF THE GOSPEL LECTIONS FOR THE YEAR WITH EXPOSITIONS

This is a a volume of 283 folios, containing the Gospel lections for the year, beginning with Advent. Under the title of the day is cited, by its opening words, the canticle for the day. The lections are given in short passages and are accompanied in parallel column by an Arabic translation. Following each passage is an extensive commentary in Arabic.

The author has divided his work into two parts, the first following the calendar from the Annunciation season (i. e. Advent) through Easter Week, the second concluding the Church year. At the end of the first part (f. 186a) appears his colophon, as follows:

"Finished is this Book of the Gospel on Monday, Second Tishri the 7th, the year 1587 of Alexander son of Philip (A. D. 1276), in the days of the faithful pastor who leads his spiritual flock, Mâr Denḥâ the Catholicus, and in the days of Mâr Yôhannan of Hamadân and Ḳâšân and Yazd, the city which the Lord establishes. Wrote this book one full of a sinful life and wretched, Joseph surnamed Ḳašar, son

of ʿAziz, son of Šmôʾîl, the Lord forgive his sins. Amen. Blessed is God forever and praised his name."

At the beginning of the second part he speaks of the book as "the Separate Readings of the Gospel" (*ḳeryânê měfarrĕšê deuangelyôn*), which is probably the specific title. In the first four pages he gives an "introduction" to the several Gospels, taken from Mar Elia, who probably is the celebrated Elia bar Sînâyâ (b. 975), metropolitan of Nisîbis, who is distinguished for his Arabic-Syriac philology (see Wright, *A Short History of Syriac Literature*, pp. 235 ff.). From whom the Arabic translations and commentary proceed we are not told — it may be from the same author.

On a spare page between the two parts (f. 187a) is a memorandum of a later possessor of the book: "This Gospel Book is the property of the weak one and stranger Sabr-Îšôʿ and it survived from our former fathers Mâr Denḥâ the Catholicus and Mâr Sabr-Îšôʿ and Mâr Yahb-Alâhâ my uncle, who departed from this world and died in a good old age with his fathers on the Feast of the Confessors in the year اهنب of the era of the Greeks. The Lord Jesus Christ refresh his soul in the wedding feast of his kingdom along with all honest and righteous men who satisfy his will. Amen and Amen forever." I do not understand the dating.

For the order and terminology of the Church year reference may be mode to Neale, *History of the Holy Eastern Church*, Part 1, pp. 729 ff. The Arabic translation may be Mâr Elia's, but its affiliations may be worth studying.

C. A LOST THORAH MS.

In the note accompanying the above MSS. in which Mr. Morgan makes the gift he records a third MS. in his donation, namely a roll of the Thorah in square Hebrew characters, 173 feet long, from the mountains of Kurdistan. Although this third MS. was duly noted in the report of the then Custodian to the General Convention of the Episcopal Church, as appears from its *Journal*, this Hebrew MS. has since entirely disappeared, its loss being antecedent to the incumbency of the present Custodian. This note is made in the hope that some trace may be found of what may be an interesting Hebrew manuscript.

HEBREW POETRY: A CRITICISM

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I.

THE *Journal of Biblical Literature* for June-September, 1919, carries as its leading article "The Rhythmical Analysis of Isaiah 1 10–20," by Professor Kemper Fullerton, of Oberlin Theological Seminary.

The paper seeks to show "how frequently the obvious defects in the rhythm of a passage coincide with the exegetical or critical difficulties," as is the case with Isaiah 1 12, 13; and how, when they do, the restoration of the Hebrew text may legitimately be sought under the useful cross-lights of *both* rhythmical and critico-exegetical considerations.

Applying, therefore, rhythmical as well as critical and exegetical tests, Professor Fullerton makes the following alterations:

v. 11c, deletes "lambs."
v. 12, adds a parallel to v. 12a.
v. 13b, deletes "calling."
v. 13b, amends "iniquity" into "fast." (So LXX.)
v. 13b, moves "fast and festival" forward to v. 14. (So LXX.)
v. 14a, deletes "your new moons."
v. 14a, amends "your appointed feasts" into "appointed feast."
v. 15a, deletes "from you."
v. 16, moves last phrase forward into v. 17.
v. 17, deletes entire.
v. 18, deletes entire.
vv. 19, 20, appropriates from their context and joins to v. 16, to complete a six-line stanza.

The text is thus restored, divided, and translated to read as follows:

1

v. 10 Hear the word of Jahweh—ye judges of Sodom,
Give ear to the instruction of our God—ye people of Gomorrah.
v. 11 What to me is the multitude of your sacrifices—saith Jahweh.
I am sated with burnt-offerings of rams—and the fat of fed beasts,
And in the blood of bulls and of goats—I take no delight,
v. 12 When you come to see my face—(I will not accept you).

2

Who hath sought this at your hands—to trample my courts?
v. 13 Do not continue to bring—an oblation of vanity;
Smoke (of sacrifice) an abomination—is it to me,
New moon and Sabbath and call(?)—I cannot endure;
v. 14 Fast and assembly and feast—my soul hateth,
They have become unto me a burden—I am weary of carrying it.

3

v. 15 When ye spread out your hands—I will hide my eyes,
Yea, when ye multiply prayer—I will not be listening;
v. 16 Your hands are full of blood—wash you, cleanse you,
Put away the evil of your deeds—from before mine eyes;
v. 19 If ye are willing to hear—the good of the land ye shall eat,
v. 20 But if ye refuse and rebel—ye shall eat the sword(?).

II

The following criticism is offered:

Hebrew poetry was constructed—to the limited extent that "construction" was a conscious process—*from the top down.* First came the thought, visualized as an organic whole composed of strongly articulated parts; then the stanzas in varied patterns

correspondent to the morphology of the thought; finally the lines, in patterns which are consistent only if convenient and natural, being modified if necessary and widely varied if appropriate.

The technical results are three. First, Hebrew poetry is *doubly* structural. Two elements, not merely one alone, make up its morphology, viz. stanza-patterns as well as line-patterns. Secondly, of the two elements, the line-patterns are most completely subject to circumstances. The thought wholly dominates the rhythms and holds them strictly subordinate. In other words the accent-pattern is *not* the regnant principle of Hebrew poetry, whatever it may be in poetry classical or modern. Thirdly, the directing principle, which dominates every technical factor, is the strophically-divided thought.

The practical results are two. First, being constructed from the top down, i. e., taking its inner genius and driving force from its vividly structuralized thought rather than from a semi-mechanical rhythm, Hebrew poetry is a problem *exegetical,* rather than poetical in our modern sense of the word. It is wholly erroneous, therefore, either to discover or restore "damaged" texts on the sole basis or even on the corroborative basis of rhythmical considerations. Secondly, the most useful clue to follow in the exegetical solution of Hebrew poetry is the stanza-analysis. It is easy to illustrate how false dissection of the stanzas leads inevitably to false deductions as to the rhythms. Even those, therefore, who are interested solely in the technique of Hebrew rhythm will first have to master the structure of the Hebrew stanza.

Professor Fullerton's method works in the opposite direction and exactly reverses the values.

His starting-point is the line-rhythm, which he assumes to be uniform and invests with controlling virtue. For him, the five-toned rhythm "dominates" the passage; the passage does not dominate the rhythm. Hence any line which exhibits "obvious defects" in rhythm must be made to "satisfy the rhythmical demands of the rest of the poem."

Now on the face of it, if "rhythm" means flexibility, by just what standards does Professor Fullerton recognize the "obvious

defects"? And if rhythm means freedom, by what right does he assert that the rhythm in one stanza makes "demands" on the rhythm of another stanza, or even that mere rhythm makes any primary demands at all? And if rhythm is incidental, by what warrant can he make it a definitive test, as he certainly does when he avers that that revision, when revision of faulty texts is necessary, "will probably be nearest the original text which conforms most closely to the five-toned rhythm established for the remainder of the poem"? To handle Hebrew poetry, whose structurality is anything but metrical, on the basis of a dominant rhythmical constant, is both a contradiction in terms and a fundamental misapprehension of the real nature and relative values of the elements involved.

Faulty method leads to faulty results. According first and major attention and supreme value to the rhythm side of the problem, Professor Fullerton signally fails to give adequate treatment to the stanza-analysis. This is where his work is most demonstrably vulnerable, and where success and failure matter most of all. It is at his stanzas, therefore, that the following detailed criticism is directed.

In the first place, Stanza I does not open with v. 10, but with v. 11. From v. 11 on, Jahweh is speaking directly to his people; the pronouns are "you" and "your." In v. 10 some one else is calling the people to give attention to this Jahweh-discourse, referring to it as the admonition of "our" God. Certainly Jahweh would not refer to himself as "our God"! It is the whole Jahweh-discourse that constitutes the poem. It commenced with a quatrain, vv. 2, 3, which pronounced the divine indictment. Isaiah then digresses to explain in his own words the occasion and warrant of this indictment, vv. 4–9, using literal and figurative language which is significantly lacking in rhythmical or other structure and therefore may be set down as a sort of short prose interlude. This explanation he ends with the couplet, v. 10 . . .

v. 10 "Hearken!" to the proclamation of Jahweh, ye Sodom-rulers!
"Give ear!" to the admonition of our God, Gomorrah-people!

Obviously this belongs with what precedes, and not at all with Stanza I which follows. It is a couplet used as a transition out of the prose of Isaiah's explanatory digression back into the poetry of the direct discourse of Jahweh's proclamation. (Note how the first word in each member of the couplet catches up the first words in the divine indictment above,—"Hearken", "Give ear";—while the last word in each member of the couplet, "Sodom", "Gomorrah",—echoes the last words in Isaiah's preceding explanation.)

In the second place, Stanza I does not end with v. 12a, but with v. 13b. Thus divided, the stanza is a thought unit containing that part of Jahweh's arraignment which is directed at the *sacrificial* system. The picture is compounded of animals, clatter of hoof-beats, blood, fire, smoke, stench, all of which are mentioned, and all of which quite obviously belong together. Professor Fullerton alleges no reason, and there is none, either strophic or rhythmic, for making a stanza-division through the middle of this natural unit, and allotting three lines to the following stanza which is about another matter. As a minor corroboration of the boundaries of Stanza I, notice how it opens and closes with answering phrases: "What do I think of . . .?" and, "Is what I think of it!"

In the third place, why conjure up a parallel for v. 12a? It is suspicious in having no parallel, anyway; in addition it is grammatically doubtful, strophically irregular, and quite unnecessary to the sense. "Restore" the line to grammatical impeccability, rhythmical regularity, and parallelistic completeness, and what is the result? A *seven*-line stanza in the midst of a sequence of stanzas notable for their regular *six*-line structure. As there is nothing in the peculiar nature of the thought expressed, either in this line or those adjacent, which calls for an exception in favor of an extra-line stanza, obviously everything points to v. 12a being a gloss. Delete it altogether and see what happens . . .

v. 11 "What do I think of your droves of sacrifices?"—saith Jahweh;
"I am cloyed with burnt-offerings of rams—and fat of fatlings;

And bulls' blood and rams' and bucks'—I do not relish.
v. 12 Who sought this of you?—hoof-clatter in my courts!
v. 13 Never again fetch in—a gift empty of significance!
A nauseating stench—is what I think of it!"

In the fourth place, Stanza II does not commence with v. 12 b, nor end with v. 14. After the arraignment of the sacrificial usages, Jahweh enumerates and condemns the remainder of the ritual. The monthly festival of New-Moon, the weekly Sabbath, the special proclamations and set feasts,— all the items of the formal system, even to that most solemn and holy feature common to them all, the posture of public prayer, He states to be equally unendurable and unavailing, because all are as "empty"—i. e. of moral significance—as the sacrifices are, and so are hypocritical, loathsome, abominable, nauseating. Setting together all these items wich so obviously belong together, the stanza-boundaries are plain: vv. 13c–15b; and it is hard to see how Professor Fullerton's exegesis could miss them.

In the fifth place,—turning momentarily from criticism of the stanzas,—this is one of the instances when a single-eyed search for rhythmical uniformity makes quite as bad work of the lines, too. As it stands in the text, Stanza II has only three of the five-toned lines which "dominate" the poem,—and one of these is 2×3 instead of 3×2. The rest are four-toned (2×2). But why not let them stand that way? The passage is capable of reasonable interpretation, both exegetically and poetically, without recourse to reconstruction. Moreover, the whole significance of "rhythm" as distinguished from "meter" is in the predominance of flexibility over strict regularity. As stated above, within the stanzas the line rhythms are consistent if possible, but freely modified if necessary. Stanza II is a case in point, for, unlike Stanza I, fully half of it expresses Jahweh's personal reaction toward those whom he is addressing. The emotional element is emerging and culminating. If the rhythms are different from those of Stanza I, so is the mood. If the rhythms are variable, the mood is jerky, too,—almost choking in the second line, where the grammar, however broken, leaves the sense unmistakable, and the effect eloquent beyond the

power of faultless rhetoric. (Many things may admittedly be what Professor Fullerton calls "grammatically impossible," which are rhetorically powerful. This is poetry, and poetry is rhetoric, not primarily a grammar exhibition.) There is abundance of reason, too, for the appearance of the shorter rhythm as the utterance approaches the climax of emotional outburst in the next stanza, where whole sentences are phrased in monosyllabic commands and the rhythm finally settles down to a fairly consistent 2×2 pattern. But Professor Fullerton, pruning to fit the fixed pattern, redistributes v. 13c and v. 14a, b, and finally emerges with all his lines five-toned. Incidentally there are only five of them, where there would have been six if taken as they stood...

v. 13c "As for the New-Moon and Sabbath—Proclamation of Assembly,—
I am not able—iniquity!... *and celebration!*
v. 14 Your New-Moons and your calendar feasts—my soul loathes!
They have become a crushing burden—I am exhausted by carrying them!
v. 15 At the spreading of your hands—I will cover my eyes from you.
Yea, when ye multiply prayer—I am not even listening!"

Lastly, Professor Fullerton's third stanza,—the most vulnerable piece of work of all. Three lines are discarded entire. Three other lines are telescoped into two. These are then joined with two which belong to the previous stanza and two others from the farther end of the stanza following. Really, if such playing fast and loose with the text beyond all common-sense is permissible, we could easily go just a little farther and make poetry, rhymes and all, out of the Declaration of Independence! Surely, such work refutes itself! The individuality of Stanza III is as clear and as homogeneous as nine consecutive imperatives can make it. Moreover, its place in the thought-sequence is equally distinct, natural, and obvious. Stanza I itemized the sacrificial system and its distastefulness to Jahweh. Stanza II passed to the remainder of the ritual,—the various religious gatherings,—with increasing emphasis upon their loathsomeness

in Jahweh's sight. Then the storm breaks in a climax of short, sharp orders to "Reform"!—Stanza III . . .

v. 15c "Your hands!—They are full of murder!
v. 16 Wash!—Cleanse!
Avert the evil of your deeds—from before my eyes!
Cease to do evil!—Learn to do right!
Pursue justice!—Correct oppression!
Judge the fatherless!—Plead for the widow!

Without emendations, condensations, omissions, or borrowed conclusions, the six lines as they stand constitute a true stanza.

Professor Fullerton's work has thus far been criticised from two angles. On the one hand it is contended that his method is *a priori* erroneous because it commences by looking for a dominant rhythmic constant. On the other hand, it is contended that his vulnerable results are corroborative proof of false method. A third angle may now complete the attack upon his method. Professor Fullerton has spent no time mastering how the varying thought actually did produce a *versatile* rhythm, in order to spend all his time guessing how the same thought or fragments of it or some other might have been expressed by an unvarying rhythm. But Hebrew poetry was not written to be rendered on a drum. It is not solely *tempo*. In other words, Professor Fullerton *has left out the reciter*. Whether Hebrew poetry was lyric or liturgic, it was dramatic,—intended to be visualized if not actually dramatized. Figuratively if not literally, it presupposes a public reader. But under the art of a competent reciter, two bare imperatives,—to take an extreme case,—if rendered with appropriate gesture, pose, *and dramatic pause*, can be made of parallel temporal, and therefore artistic, value, with the common five-toned line, if the imperatives themselves have the proper thought value. It is *the thought* which determines the value of a line, not the rhythm.

Here, then, really, are two opposite methods. Professor Fullerton starts with a pattern, fits the variant rhythms to it, and thus arrives at what goes to make up a line and a stanza. The critic advocates a method which works down from the thought, through the stanza, to the lines, and lets the rhythms

be what they will. The two methods operate in opposite directions. They have nothing in common. The relative success of their final results is the ultimate test of their practical value.

III

Passing by many incidental matters, direct criticism rests with Stanza III, since Professor Fullerton closes the poem here. Two final items, however, clamor to be heard.

Is it so certain that here is where the poem closes? Says Professor Fullerton: "Vs. 21–26 are admitted on all hands to be an independent poem and vs. 27–31 are fragments which have nothing to do with the topic in vs. 10–16;" [v. 18 is] "utterly at variance with the context." Remembering that vv. 11–17 have formed themselves into three six-line stanzas, is it not striking that the remainder of the chapter also lies in the same rather uncommon six-line stanzas?—and that they are Jahweh's direct discourse, like the first three?—that they form a sequence, likewise?—and that the sequence of the last four stanzas exactly fits and completes the arrested sequence of the first three? After denouncing the sacrifices as "empty" of moral significance (Stanza I), and execrating the fasts, feasts, and prayers as also intolerable (Stanza II), and commanding a reform (Stanza III), Jahweh holds out the alternatives of conduct and consequence (Stanza IV), sadly anticipates the rejection of the proffered chance (Stanza V), decrees therefore that He must purify what they will not (Stanza VI), and forecasts the ultimate destruction of the offending elements (Stanza VII). It is a veritable program of moral discipline, complete, plain, logical. Whereas, if the poem ended with Stanza III, and its command to reform, the proclamation is artistically, not to say theologically, incomplete and weak.

Finally, Professor Fullerton's translation,—tame prose, curiously punctuated,—raises the question: What is the purpose of all this study, speculation, and restoration? Is it not to place before English readers the powerful, majestic swing of Isaiah's imperial imagination and dramatic language? Does a ragged style and a commonplace vocabulary befit the task? The first

chapter of Isaiah contains a dramatic poem. Can the poeticalness of it be transferred by anything short of a *poetical* translation? Why not at least try? . . .

THE PROGRAM OF MORAL DISCIPLINE
or
GOD'S ADJUSTMENT TO SIN

PATERNAL LAMENT OVER UNFILIAL WRONG

2 "Listen! O Heavens, and hearken! O Earth; for Jehovah is speaking.
Sons whom I favored and magnified—they are the ones who have wronged me!
3 Even an ox knows his owner,—a mule the crib of his master—
But Israel cannot perceive; mine own people pay no attention!"

PRESENT PLIGHT THROUGH ISAIAH'S EYES[1]

4 Alas! what a sinful nation it is! A people guilt-laden! A whole breed of evil-doers! A corrupt progeny!
They have deserted the Lord! They have scorned Israel's Holy One! They have turned their backs!
5 Whereupon would you be further smitten? You continue defection! The whole head is diseased! And the whole heart sick!
6 From top to toe there is nothing sound! Wound and welt and fresh blow! Uncleansed, unbandaged, nor soothed with oil!
7 Your land—desolation! Your cities—burnt with fire! Your tillage—aliens devour it to your face! And the desolation is like only an alien's havoc!

[1] *Prose.* Isaiah speaking, digressing to paint the situation as it looks through his own eyes. The poetical structure resumes with Jahweh's words.

8 And the Daughter of Zion is left behind like a shelter in a vineyard, like a shack in a melon-patch, like a city bombarded!
9 Had not the Lord of Hosts reserved us a narrow escape, we had been like Sodom itself,—we had resembled a very Gomorrah!
10 "Listen" to the message of the Lord, O Sodom-rulers!
"Hearken" to our God's instruction, O Gomorrah-people!

MOCKERY OF SACRIFICIALISM

11 "What unto me are the droves of your sacrifices worth?" saith the Lord.
"Lo! I am cloyed with burnt-off'rings of rams and choicest of fatlings.
Bullocks' and rams' and he-goats' blood cannot satisfy me.
12 *You* who appear in my courts!—who *asked* you this?—hoofbeats in here!
13 Have done with continuous proffer of such hypocritical off'rings!
An incense whose smell is a stifling stench are such unto me!"

MASQUERADE OF CEREMONIALISM

14 "As for the New-Moon and Sabbath, Proclamation of Solemn Assembly—
How can I tolerate brazen festivity masking transgression?
Your New-Moon and all your punctilious feasts give me loathing of soul.
A burdensome load have they grown on me—Lo! I am spent with their carrying.
15 So when you raise your suppliant hands, I cover my eyes.
Verily though you may multiply prayers, I am listening not."

REFORM!

"Your hands, indeed!—they are dripping with murder!
16 Wash ye yourselves!—and make yourselves clean!
Remove from my sight the wrong of your deeds!
Cease to do wrong! 17 Learn to do right!
Pursue even justice! Correct all oppression!
Judge ye the fatherless! Plead for the widow!"

ALTERNATIVES

18 "Come and let argue," saith the Lord.
"Though your sins may be like scarlet, white as wool they yet may grow.
Though their red may be like crimson, they may be transformed like snow.
19 If you willingly will hearken, you may eat the country's good:
20 If you stubbornly refuse, then the sword must drink your blood—
For the mouth of God Himself has said the word."

ALLOY

21 "Alas! How the city that once was called 'Faithful' goes whoring!
Her native and plentiful righteousness ousted by cut-throats!
22 Her silver but slag, and her choice wine insipid with water!
23 Her unruly rulers are bosom-companions of thieves;
They all of them hanker for hush-gold, soliciting bribes,
Till the plea of the widow and fatherless fails to engage them!"

PURIFICATION

24 "Hence the verdict of Jehovah, God of Hosts,—yea, the Mighty One of Israel:
Ah! but I will ease me of my haters, and avenge me of my foes!
25 I will drive my hand against thee, and in furnaces will sternly smelt thy slag!
And thine alloy I will wholly fling away!—
26 Thy Counsellors and Judges I will drive to be again as at the first,—
And then shalt thou be called, O Trusty City, 'The Metropolis of Right!'"

DESTRUCTION OF SLAG

27 "With Justice shall Zion be ransomed, and Right shall redeem all her penitent members.
28 But partners in doom and destruction are the sinful and rebels and haters of God.

29 For you shall be shamed at the oaks that you prized, and
humbled at favorite gardens.
30 For you shall become as a tree that is stripped of its leafage,
a garden unwatered.
31 Thus shall man become but as flax, and his work like
a spark, –
Together the twain shall meet common destruction,—no
quencher shall stay it."

NOTE. The translation above is taken from two articles on Hebrew Poetry by the present writer, which were published in the *Biblical Review* for October, 1918 and January, 1919, and is reprinted here be kind permission of the Editor.

THE MEANING OF ARIEL

SAMUEL FEIGIN
JERUSALEM

THE word *Ariel,* which occurs a number of times in the Bible and the Mesha-stone,[1] has been interpreted in many different ways by exegetes, who have been unable to find a satisfactory basic meaning from which all the passages can be explained. In the various passages the word seems to have some four distinct values, which will be discussed in this paper:

1. II Sam. 23 20 the hero Benaiah, son of Jehoiada, is said to have slain את שני אראל מואב; in the parallel passage I Chr. 11 22 the word is spelled אריאל. 𝔊 has *τοὺς δύο υἱοὺς Ἀριὴλ τοῦ Μωάβ* = את שני בני אריאל. Robertson Smith, *Rel. of the Semites,* p. 488 f., explains the word, as *altar-pillar,* following Ez. 43 15, and supposing that הכה, *he smote,* means *he overthrew.* In Am. 9 1, הכה is used of striking the כפתר and causing the ספים to tremble, but not of overthrowing a pillar. Moreover, it is hard to see the heroism involved in smiting two pillars, and the reading of 𝔊 is inexplicable. Wellhausen and others accept the reading of 𝔊 and consider Ariel as a personal name (Ezr. 8 16). If this were correct, Ariel would be the progenitor of a race of giants, like Anak and Rapha (see below). The Targum Jonathan renders תרין רברבי מואב, two mighty men of Moab; Raši and Ḳimḥi similarly explain the word by גבורי,[2] but their etymology (ארי *lion* + איל, *strong*) is naturally untenable. The renderings of 𝔊 and the Targum seem

[1] II Sam. 23 20 = I Chr. 11 22; Ez. 43 15 f.; Is. 29 1, 2, 7; Is. 33 7; Mesha, 12, 17.

[2] This is apparently supported by Eg. *3r3r,* hero, mighty man, a New Empire loan-word from Canaanite.

to reflect two recensions, שני בני ארא מואב and שני אראלי מואב where אראלי = בני ארא.[3]

2. In Ez. 43 15 f. אראיל is, without doubt, the place where the sacrifices are brought, a part of the altar. Like the Herodian altar it had four horns (Jos. *Bel. Jud.* 5, 5, 6). The name of the הראל, which is also four cubits high, is only a variation of ארא; 𝔊 has *αριηλ* for both. The usual derivation from a supposed Ar. *iriḥah,* hearth, is not acceptable, as there seems to be no such word (Albright). Starting from the popular etymology, *lion of God*, Raši explains that the fire on the altar took the form of a crouching lion: על שם אש של מעלה שהיתה רובצת כארי על גבי המזבח. It is improbable that the original form of the word was *ariel*, since we find ארא in Samuel and Mesha, and הראל in Ezekiel; the *ḳerê* in Samuel is evidently based upon the popular etymology. While we might take הראל to be the ground-form, regarding the altar as the symbol of the world-mountain, the reading in 𝔊 and the usage in Samuel are both against this view.

3. In Is. 29 1, 7 אריאל is without question a name for Jerusalem, as shown by the explanation קרית חנה דוד. Targum Jonathan, however, follows Ezekiel, translating מדבחא. The Mišnah, *Middôṯ* 4 7, interprets the word as *temple*, and combines the popular etymology with this treatment in a very curious way: וההיכל צר מאחריו ורחב מלפניו ודומה לארי שנאמר הוי אריאל וגו׳.

The explanation of the word as *temple* is an extension of the meaning *altar* adopted by most Jewish exegetes, followed by Duhm. But והיתה לי כאריאל does not fit into this theory, and Duhm's view that the city will become like a sacrificial hearth because it runs with blood is out of the question, blood not

[3] Klostermann's emendation, שני בני הארי אל מחבואם is based upon the second half of the verse, and is both grammatically and linguistically out of the question. Young lion is כפיר or גור. Halévy thinks that ארא means envoy (cf. Is. 33 7) or priest, in which he is followed by Lidzbarski and others, but no etymology is offered. Grimme explains the word as *priest of the Urim*, giving a fantastic derivation for the latter. But at best the killing of two priests can hardly have been regarded as a heroic deed worthy to be placed beside the slaughter of three hundred men.

being mentioned at all. The assumption that the city received its name from the altar is very improbable, and v. 2 is inexplicable on the supposition that אריאל means *altar* here. Accordingly most scholars look elsewhere for the solution of the difficulty. Thus Marti, following Cheyne, reads *Uriel*, which might be a monotheistic adaptation of the name Jerusalem. While it is true that the element *šalem* resembles Šulmanu, a name of Inurta (*KAT.*, 475), we should at least expect the writing ירואל like ירושלים; moreover, it would be most extraordinary that the name is found only here. The Assyrian spelling *Urusalim* is merely the cuneiform reproduction of **Ierušalem*, as there is no *ii* in Assyrian. Grimme, *OLZ.*, IV 44, derives *Ariel* from *har-el*, mountain of God (Ez. 43 15); Jerusalem is called in the Psalms הר קדשי and also ירכתי צפון (Ps. 48 3), referring to the world-mountain in the north. According to this view the altar would be symbolic of the mountain of the world, identified with Mt. Zion. But Grimme cannot explain the second verse satisfactorily.[4] The view of Jeremias (*ATAO.*,[2] 558) that we have here the Babylonian word *aral(l)û* in its two meanings *world-mountain* and *underworld* is much more in accord with the context, where Ariel appears both as a name of Mount Zion and as a place of sorrow and weeping like the lower world.

4. Is. 33 7: הן אראלם צעקו חוצה מלאכי שלום מר יבכיון. Targum Jon. renders כד אתגלי להון, considering ארא as אֲרָאֶה and לם as להם, *to them*. This interpretation is excluded by the parallelism, to say nothing of its grammatical difficulty. The Talmud explains אראלם as the name of a class of angels. Dunaš, following Saadya, thinks that אראלם is a plural meaning *nobles* or *caravan chiefs* (lit. *camel-riders*), but these theories are based on the context, and do not apply to other passages. Menahem

[4] Winckler's theory (*Geschichte Israels* II, 255) that אריאל means *Schutzgott* is unprovable, and demands too many changes in the text. Ben Yehuda explains the word here without reference to the other occurrences as *Pilgerstadt*, following Saadya Gaon, but the opinion of the latter is based on a late etymological combination with ראה, *see* (Ariel is the place to which one comes to see God). Even if the name is connected with ארה, *gather*, and rendered *the assembly of God*, the second passage would remain inexplicable.

ben Sarûḳ renders *They wept over the altar*, disregarding the resulting absence of a subject. Ḳimḥi regards the word as a synonym of מלאך, *messenger*.[5] Duhm takes the word to mean *hero*, comparing II Sam. 23 20, and refers it to Judas Maccabaeus, who was compared to a lion. Is seems to me, however, that Neubauer[6] is correct in explaining *inhabitants of Jerusalem;* we may then read מלאכי שָׁלֵם, *messengers of Jerusalem*, in the second hemistich. The passage seems to mean that Hezekiah sent envoys from Jerusalem to the Assyrian monarch, bewailing the desolation of the land and bringing gifts as a token of submission.

5. On the stele of Mesha we have (12 f.) ואשב משם את אראל דודה ואסחבה לפני כמש בקרית. In 17 f. he says: ואקח משם א[רא]לי יהוה ואסחבהם לפני כמש. From the little town of ʿAṭaroṭ Mesha took one אראל; from the city of Nebo he took several. Halévy explains the word here as *priest;* Grimme and Lidzbarski follow him. Winckler (*KAT.*, 225) reads Ariel-Dôdah, like ʿAštar-Kemôš. The word can hardly be used in the sense of *priest*, as the capture of a priest would not be a great event, nor can it mean *hero*, as Mesha states that he slew all the men. The second passage is decidedly against Winckler's view. It is also impossible to explain אראל here as *altar-hearth* (Meyer, IV., 257) since an altar-hearth cannot be carried captive. Since the אראל belonged to a god, could be carried into captivity like a man, but had to be dragged, I would render it as image (פסל) or rather as *maṣṣebah representing deity.* The ancient Orientals were accustomed to carry the statues of foreign gods into captivity, placing them in their temples as a symbol of the submission of conquered peoples. Thus the Elamites carried the image of Nanâ away from Erech about 2285 B. C., and the Hittites took the images of Marduk and Ṣarpânît to Ḫana some centuries later. The Assyrian kings carried off the gods of conquered peoples as a general rule, as stated repeatedly in their inscriptions. Similarly, the Philistines took the ark of Yahweh, which, at least according to their view, symbolized Yahweh himself, into captivity.

[5] For other explanations see Ben Yehuda's *Thesaurus*, *s. v.*

[6] *Athen.* 1886, 400 (Gesenius-Buhl, *s. v.*).

6. It appears therefore that we have אראל in four different meanings: *hero, altar* or *place where sacrifices are offered,* a name of Jerusalem, and *image of god* or *maṣṣēḇah.* What was the original meaning of the word? All the places where it appears seem to be archaic or archaistic in character. The different spellings, such as אראל, אריאל, אראיל, הראל indicate that the word is a loan from a foreign language and variously adapted by popular etymology to Hebrew speech-consciousness. The diversity of meaning shows that the common basic significance had already fallen into disuse and must be recovered by combination. It seems to me that this basic significance had something to do with death or the dead. The Sumerians called the abode of the dead Arali, whence Babylonian Aral(l)û, just as in Is. 29 2 the underworld is called אריאל. The dead is the father of the living, and seen through the magnifying glass of memory is generally conceived of as a hero. Accordingly the heroes of the past are called אראלים, just as רפאים means both *shades* and *heroes.* This explains the passage in Samuel, where 𝔐 has שני אראל(י) מואב and 𝔊 had שני בני אראל מואב, just as we have as expressions meaning *heroes of the past* both בני הרפה and רפאים, both בני ענק and ענקים. An ancient Hebrew name of the burial place, where offerings of food and drink were made to the dead, seems to have been אראל. While מזבח from a root meaning *slaughter* was the name applied to the altar of sacrifice, אראל was then perhaps the name of the altar of offerings to the dead. Ezekiel, who is fond of archaisms in general, appears to use the old word אראל as a synonym of מזבח. The Mesha stele shows that the word also had the meaning *maṣṣēḇah,* which may indicate that the grave stele as well as the table of offerings which stood before it was included under the designation אראל. The extension of the use of *maṣṣēḇah* from *grave stele* to *stele representing deity* carried with it a similar development of the meaning of אראל, corresponding to the evolution of the private cult of the dead to a public cult of the gods. If the restoration of the second passage on the Mesha stone is correct, we may suppose that the אראלים were *maṣṣēḇôṯ* of Yahweh and his subordinate divinities.

The cult of the dead was, of course, well-known in ancient

Palestine. The numerous vessels and cup-marks discovered in connection with tombs show that the dead were provided with food and water; cf. also Ben Sîra, 31 17 f. The Massoretic pointing ופגרי מלכיהם בְּמוֹתָם in Ez. 43 7 indicates that high-places were supposed to be attached to the tombs of the kings at Jerusalem, though בְּמוֹתָם is probably the original reading. Also Is. 65 4 proves that offerings were made at the tomb; even in Israel there were remnants of this pagan cult, against which the Law contended (Deut. 26 14). In this connection it may be noted that the same word is used for *coffin* and for *ark of Yahweh*. Similarly the זבח שלמים may have been originally an offering made to the dead, part of the feast, the blood, being given to the spirit.[7]

Having shown the connection between the differing meanings of Ariel, it remains to explain its association with the city of Jerusalem. In Is. 29 1 the city of David referred to is, of course, Zion, and ציון means also tomb. When Josiah asked (II Kings 23 17): מה הציון הלז, the answer was הקבר איש האלהים. In Zion the people of the surrounding country may have buried their dead. In the southern part of the mountain, near Siloam, tombs have recently been found, which may have belonged to the first kings of Judah.[8] Accordingly the name Ariel may be equivalent to *necropolis*, like Zion. Possibly also the name Jerusalem contains the element *šalem*, dead, and means *city of the dead, necropolis*. Salem, Zion, Ariel are three names belonging to different periods; according to tradition Salem was employed at the time of Abraham, and Zion at the time of David.

While the Talmud cannot be considered a direct source for early Palestinian conceptions, it contains many valuable traditions, and mentions many survivals of an older period. The word אראלים in the Talmud refers to the angels of death. When Rabbi Judah died bar-Kappârâ said (*Ketûbôt*, 104): אראלים

[7] In Assyrian *šalamtu* (whence Aram. *šeladdâ*) is *corpse*, and *šalâm šamši* is *sunset*, properly *death of the sun* (Albright, *AJSL*, XXXIV, 142). Ar. *salîm* means *wounded to death*.

[8] Elsewhere I will discuss the question of these tombs, especially on its topographical side.

ומצוקים אחזו בארון הקדש נצחו הראלים את המצוקים ונשבה ארון הקדש. The Meṣûḳîm are the angels of the upper world, and the Er'elîm are the angels of the lower world, who defeat the former and carry the ark of God (i. e. Rabbi Judah) captive. Midraš Kônen (Ben Yehuda, *Thesaurus, s. v.*) names as different classes of angels the ראלים, מלאכים, and אופנים, so that the Er'elîm appear as the lowest category, the Ôfannîm being the angels in the מרכבה, or Chariot of God.

THE BABYLONIAN TEMPLE-TOWER AND THE ALTAR OF BURNT-OFFERING

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The studies of my friend Mr. Feigin have placed the old problem of Ariel in a much clearer light, though I am not able to agree with all his suggestions. There can be no doubt that the balance of probability is now in favor of the Assyrian etymology long maintained by Jeremias and others. In Mesopotamian cosmology Mount Aral(l)û, Sum. Arali (for etymology cf. *AJSL.*, XXXV, 191, n. 1), in the far north was the home of the shades, whence Hades was called in Sumerian *kúr*, mountain, and in Assyrian *ḫuršân,* mountain, as Zimmern has recently shown. Aralû is written ideographically *Ê-KÚR-UŠ (BAD)*, House of the mountain of the dead. Aral(l)û is also the mountain of the gods, *É-ĝarsag-gal-kúr-kúr-ra,* House of the great mountain of the lands, and is further identified with the fabulous mountain of gold in the land of the gods. As *Ê-kúr* and *É-ĝarsag-kúr-kúr-ra* were two of the most popular names of *ziḳḳurâti*, or temple-towers, we may safely suppose that the latter, being the terrestrial representations of the mountain of the gods, shared its name Arallû. Originally, of course, the mountain of the gods and the mountain of the shades were distinct conceptions, but since both were placed in the far north they were naturally confused.

In Is. 29 2, אריאל clearly means Hades:

וְהָיִת׳ לי כאריאל וחניתי כדור עליך ***
והיה כאוב־מארץ[1] קולך ומעפר אמרתך תצפצף

Thou shalt become like Hades; I will encamp like a wall against thee.***
The voice of a shade shall be thine; from the dust thou shalt utter chirps.

The denizens of the underworld were supposed to become birds, clad in feathers (Descent of Ištar, line 10). The conception that the soul of a dead man is embodied in a bird, especially an owl, is almost universal. Is. 33 7,

הן אראלם צעקו־חוצה מלאכי שלום מר־יבכיון

is evidently, following the Talmudic tradition (see Mr. Feigin's article), to be rendered as follows:

Behold the Ar'elim cry without; the propitious angels wail bitterly.

The thought seems to be that the destructive spirits of the lower world have invaded the land, howling like jackals without while they spread famine and pestilence; the spirits of heaven weep bitterly over the godlessness of the land and its consequent suffering. The shades were called both *Ar'elîm* and *Benê Ar'el* (II Sam. 23 20, LXX), just as they are also both *Refa'îm* and *Benê Rafâ*, *ʿAnaḳîm* and *Benê ʿAnaḳ*.[2] These expressions are used in the Bible just as in Egypt and Mesopotamia for the demigods and heroes of a bygone age as well as for the shades of the lower world in general.

There is no phonetic objection to the combination of *Ar'el* with *Aralû*; the final *û* is dropped in Hebrew loan-words from Assyrian, as in *edû* > אֵד, *inundation*. The various writings point unmistakably to a loan-word which was adapted to Hebrew by popular etymology in different ways. The pronunciation *Arî'el* is evidently based on a reminiscence of Nergal-Irra, called *šar Aralî* and usually represented as a lion. The variant *har'el* in

[1] Pronounce metrically *kôḇmêreṣ*.

[2] For the etymology of רפאים see Haupt, *AJSL.*, XXXIII, 48; the stem is רפה = *rabû*, set, of the sun. Similarly ענקים may be connected with Ar. *aʿnaḳa*, set, of the stars (cf. *AJSL.*, XXIV, 142). This is, of course, very doubtful, but is at least more likely than the old combination with *aʿnaḳ*, long-necked.

Ez. 43 15 means *mountain of god*, like Arallû. That the word should be a genuine Hebrew compound is impossible, as we have no parallels. Moreover, the rendering *hearth of God* is excluded by the fact that there is no word *iri̯ah*, hearth, in Arabic, as lightly assumed by all the commentators. The word supposed to mean *hearth* is one of the many forms of the word *iri̯*, *arîi̯*, *ârîi̯*, *arîi̯ah*, crib, stall, enclosure (cf. Barth, *ZDMG.*, LVII, 636), a pre-Islamic loan from Aram. *uri̯â*, itself derived from Assyr. *urû*, stall, enclosure, another loan from Sum. *ùr* (*Sumerisches Glossar*, p. 49, *ùr* VI), with the same meaning.

As seen by Jeremias, Ariel as the name of Mount Zion[3] is identical with Arallû, mountain of god, Heb. *har ḳôḏeš*. Similarly, the highest of the three stages of the altar of burnt-offering in the temple of Solomon and Ezekiel bears the same name. The striking resemblance of this altar to the Babylonian stage-tower was pointed out many years ago by Haupt, who said (Toy, *Ezekiel*, p. 187): "The Temple resembled, to a certain extent, a Babylonian temple-tower of three stories, and the altar of burnt-offering is practically a Babylonian temple-tower on a smaller scale, or rather, the temple-tower is, as it were, a huge altar." The commonest type of stage-tower had three stages; cf. the illustrations in Gressmann, *Altorientalische Texte und Bilder*, II, 39. Descriptions of stage-altars may be found in Dalman's Petra, pp. 141 (on the summit of a high-place), 288 (on a terrace), and 299, but all of these are crude compared with the Jewish altar, which was certainly based on Mesopotamian models, coming through Phoenicia.

The reconstruction of the altar of burnt-offering (Ez. 43 13–17) given in the commentaries (cf- Kraetzschmar, *Handkommentar*, p. 279, and Toy, *Ezekiel*, p. 191) requires a slight modification. The חיק הארץ[4] is not the lowest of four stages, but is the foundation of the altar, just as rendered by the Targum, which gives תשיותא. Since its surface was then on a level with the

[3] The name Zion probably means *mountain* rather than *necropolis*; Ar. *ṣûn̯ah* means *mound* as well as *stone-heap* = Heb. צִיּוֹן, and Eg. *ḏu* means *mountain*.

[4] Restore הארץ also after חיק in 13; it has fallen out before האמה by haplography.

surrounding pavement it becomes clear why the גבול, *boundary* (13, 17), was necessary to mark the limit of the sacred altar-area. Thus, while the total height from the bottom of the foundation to the top of the horns was twelve cubits (1+2+4+4+1), the actual elevation of the surface of the *ar'el* above the pavement was ten cubits (2+4+4), agreeing exactly with the ten cubits stated in II Chr. 4 1 as the height of the altar of Solomon's temple, the cubit being here also presumably the Babylonian cubit of 21 inches specified by Ezekiel. Moreover, the boundary (13) was half a cubit (one span) from the base of the lower stage,[5] another span in width (17), while the חיק projected a cubit beyond the boundary, so the total length and width of the altar would be 12+1+1+2+4 = 20 cubits, just as stated in II Chr. 4 1.

The enigmatical expression חיק הארץ, *bosom of the earth*, is very important, as it is simply a literal translation of Assyr. *irat kigalli*, bosom of the *kigallu*, commonly used to denote the foundation of a temple-tower. The word *kigallu*, literally *great earth*, means *underworld*, *site*, *basis*, and *foundation-platform*, the latter sense arising from the fancy that the temple-tower was the link of heaven and earth (*dur-an-ki*), founded in the underworld and reaching heaven, a hyperbole recurring countless times in the inscriptions.

No less characteristically Mesopotamian is the use of the term *ar'el* for the highest stage of the altar, rather than for the whole altar. Assyr. *zikkuratu* means properly mountain-peak (*zikkurat šadî*), and refers primarily to the topmost stage, though it may be extended by metonymy to include the entire temple-tower, whose original name was *ekurru*, mountain-house,

[5] The term עזרה, generally misunderstood, and even combined with Assyr. *uṣurtu*, means properly *terrace*, *terrace-platform*. Ar. *'ádirah* is *terraced court before a house*, and South. Ar. מעזר has the same meaning (contrast Weber, *MVAG.*, 1901, p. 66). The primary sense is *what is supported*, *upheld* from the stem *'ḏr*, support, help. The עזרה of Solomon's temple (II Chr. 4 9 6 13) corresponds exactly to Assyr. *kisallu*, the terrace-platform in front of the temple. Here Solomon erected his bronze כיור (also Babylonian, as pointed out *JAOS.*, XXXVI, 232) on which to address the multitude assembled before the temple.

whence Aram. *ekurrâ*, shrine, idol. The cosmic symbolism appears clearly in the four horns, or rather four mountains, if we may judge from the four "horns" on an altar at Petra. If there were any possible doubt regarding the correctness of our interpretation, it should be removed by the variant *har-el*, mountain of god, in verse 15 (see above).

From Mr. Feigin's discussion it appears that *ar'el* in the Mesha stone means *maṣṣeḇah*, *pésel*, and not *pillar-altar* or *altar-hearth*, as commonly assumed. As is well-known, among the Western Semites the symbol of deity was rarely more than a stone menhir or a wooden post, and it is seldom possible to distinguish sharply between *maṣṣeḇah* and *pésel*. It is not certain how *ar'el* came to mean *pésel*. Porphyry says that the altar was regarded as the symbol of deity by the Arabs (cf. Lagrange, *Religions sémitiques*, p. 191) and Robertson Smith (*Religion of the Semites*, p. 201ff.) maintains that the altar is a development of the *maṣṣeḇah*. While the latter view cannot be seriously defended, it must be admitted that there is often no clear distinction between the two. On the whole I am inclined to favor Lagrange's theory that the *uaṣṣeḇah* as a stele representing divinity reflects the Mesopotamian temple-tower (*op. cit.* p. 192ff.), though I would not go as far as he does. The conception is, of course, primitive, taking root in a fetishism found all over the world; the cult-symbolism of later times, however, is often unmistakably Mesopotamian in origin. It is more than likely that Egyptian influences have also been at work here. The Egyptian analogue of the *ziḳḳurat* is the pyramid, which assumes two forms, the stage-tower surmounted by a pyramidion, which developed into the later stageless pyramid, and the obelisk crowned by a pyramidion. This pyramidion bore the name *bn* or *bnbnt*,[6] also applied by metonymy to the

[6] For the relation between the obelisk and the pyramidion cf. Breasted, *Development of Religion and Thought in Ancient Egypt*, p. 70ff. The *bn* was further combined by paronomasia with the *bnu*, phoenix, also symbolizing the sun. For the etymology of *bn*, *bnbnt* see *AJSL.*, XXXIV, 223, note. Here also belongs Ar. *banân*, fingers, extremities of the body; cf. Assyr. *ulân šadî*, mountain peak, lit. finger (*ubânu* > **ibhâm* is not etymologically connected with *bnbnt*) of the mountain.

whole obelisk, just as in the case of the Babylonian *zikḳurat*. The pyramidion called *bn*, which stood in the temple of the sun at Heliopolis, corresponds to the *maṣṣeḇah* or *ḥammân* of Šamaš or Baʿal, just as the wooden *ḏd* pillar of Osiris is parallel to the Aširat post, as pointed out by Ember. While the pyramidion was originally only a specialized type of *maṣṣeḇah*, in the course of time it certainly came to represent the mountain of the earth. Though the obelisk had other symbolism also, one can hardly doubt that the two obelisks flanking the pyla of some Egyptian temples, reappearing as architectural loans in Phoenician and Syrian temples, represent primarily the mountains of dawn, figuring so often in West-Asiatic and Egyptian literature and art. As is well-known, these obelisks finally appear as *Ia*ḳîn and *Ia*ʿoz(?) in the temple of Solomon, also facing the east, the *ṣît šamši*. All this cosmological symbolism is comparatively recent, even though appearing in our oldest monumental sources.

THE SUPPOSED BABYLONIAN DERIVATION OF THE LOGOS

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RECENTLY a serious effort has been made by the distinguished Assyriologist of Oxford, Stephen Langdon, to trane the Hellenistic conception of hypostatized reason to a Babylonian origin.[1] So far as I know, the first attempt of this character was made by Hehn,[2] whose work is not quoted by Langdon, but who anticipated some of the ideas presented by the latter. The well-known Dutch Old Testament scholar, F. Böhl, also holds similar views.[3] If these theories are correct, we must radically revise our estimates of Greek philosophical originality, and at the same time assume a much profounder development of Mesopotamian thought than the available cuneiform sources have seemed to warrant. With Langdon's desire to penetrate deeper into the understanding of Babylonian philosophy we must heartily sympathize. Mistakes can hardly be avoided in so treacherous a field—it is well so, since error may cause the explorer to stumble on discoveries to which initial correctness would have blinded him. However, it is essential that theories of such a nature be criticised by different minds, and that arguments adduced be carefully analyzed; we will, therefore, examine the evidence for Langdon's contention *sine ira et studio*.

[1] See especially *JRAS.*, 1918, 433—449—Note the following abbreviations: *BA*=*Beiträge zur Assyriologie; JRAS.*,=*Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society; RA.*,=*Revue d'Assyriologie; SGl.*,=Delitzsch, *Sumerisches Glossar.*

[2] *BA.*, *V*, 299 ff.

[3] *OLZ.*, 1916, 265—268.

According to Langdon there are two principal sources from which the conception of the Logos may ultimately be derived: *mummu*, which he renders 'creative form,' and *enem Enlil*, 'word of Enlil,' personified in Sumerian hymns and penitential psalms. Let us first consider the latter. Enlil, or Ellil, is the god of storms, whose name means 'Lord of the wind,' and who is continually represented in Sumerian literature as sending in wrath his devastating thunder-storm and cloud-burst upon the land. As lord of the destroying storm, Ellil is represented as overwhelming the low-land with his *ud*, or storm, heralded by his *enem* (=*gu* in classical Sumerian), that is, his 'voice,' not his 'word.' The Sumerian *enem Ellil* is exactly equivalent to Heb. *Ḳôl Yahweh*, 'voice of Yahweh,' used in the Old Testament for 'thunder.' The Babylonian rendering *amât Ellil*, 'word of Ellil,' is as slavishly literal and inaccurate as other Babylonian renderings of Sumerian idiomatic expressions. For example, Sum. *izkim-tila*, 'life-index,' is translated in Babylonian by *tukultu*, 'help, support,' and *ḳiptu*, 'guarantee.' The assumed parallel quoted by Langdon from the Wisdom of Solomon, 18 15, is false; here we have the command of God hypostatized, and there is no reference to the ominous voice of the thunder storm.

The question of the meaning of *mummu* is more complex, since there are two entirely distinct homonyms, both Sumerian loan-words in Babylonian. Hitherto, most scholars have assumed that the occurrences of *mummu* in cuneiform literature outside the vocabularies belonged to one word, and the effort to bring order from apparent chaos has resulted in giving the word the mystic sense 'prototype, creative form,' etc., translations inspired by Damascius' interpretation of Μωυμις = Mummu as *νοητὸς κόσμος*. The old explanation of *mummu* as 'noise,'[4] generally rejected in favor of Jensen's 'form, mould,'[5] is adopted again

[4] The word *mummu* was supposed to be Semitic, derived from the stem *hwm* or *hmm*, 'roar' (Jensen, *Kosmologie*, p. 321 f.). Böhl, *loc. cit.*, derives it from *hmy*, assumed to be the root of *amâtu*, 'word.' All these etymologies are phonetically out of the question, since the Old Babylonian form is *awâtu*, derived, as seen by Ungnad, from the stem *ḥwy*, 'announce,' occurring in Assyrian, Arabic, Aramaic, Hebrew, and Egyptian.

[5] See his *Kosmologie*, p. 323 f., and *Mythen und Epen*, p. 302 f. The reasons given by Jensen in support of his rendering are now all antiquated,

by Langdon, who tries to harmonize the divergent theories by speaking of 'creative reason,' or of the creative Word, which shaped itself into form. If the Babylonians really held such metaphysical notions, they were the first thoroughgoing pantheists, not to say monists, in history. It may be shown, however, that the hypothesis is based upon a series of misunderstandings which might have been averted by a sound philological exegesis. It is very unfortunate that exact philology is unpopular in many circles at present, though as a reaction against a philology which claimed wide territories over which it had no right, this lack of sympathy is intelligible. Without devoting more space here to previous conjectures, let us consider the cuneiform evidence. The vocabularies give two words *mummu*, one meaning 'mill, mill-stone,' the other 'lady,' Bab. *bêltum* (V R 28 gh, 63). The first word, like its synonyms *ummatu* and *erû* (from *ara*, SGl 52) is a Sumerian loan-word, from *umun*, 'mill,' while the second, though unrecognized hitherto, is just as certainly from Sum. *umun*, 'lord, lady;' the Sumerian words for 'lord' do not have a sex distinction.[6] *Mummu* as a divine appellative is clearly the latter. *Mummu Ti'âmat* is 'Lady Ti'âmat' (*mummu* may have had a caritative connotation). *Ea mummu bân kâla* is not 'Ea the creative reason, maker of all things,' but 'Ea, the lord, creator of all.' Marduk and Nâbû are called *mummu*, 'lord,' and *mâr mummi*, 'son of the lord (Ea),' expressions which are strictly parallel to *rubû*, 'prince,' and *mâr rubî*, 'son of the prince,' titles of Ea and Marduk.[7] There is nothing esoteric in the phrases *mâr rubî* and *mâr mummi*, which correspond to *mâr awîli*, son of a nobleman,' *i. e.* one who is a nobleman by birth, and hence truly noble. By a natural development these phrases

so it is remarkable that Langdon should have accepted the meaning without an examination. *Mummu* has nothing to do with *ummânu*, 'workman,' the oldest form of which is *ummiânu*, a loan-word from Sum. *ummea*, with a Semitic ending affixed, nor can either be derived from the stem *'mm*.

[6] Cf. *JAOS.*, *XXXVIII*, 198 f.

[7] It was upon these appellations that Hommel built his theory of the Egypto-Sumerian heavenly ocean called *Nun* some thirty years ago. Sum. *nun*, however, means 'prince,' read in Semitic *rubû*, and Eg. *nûn* means 'subterranean fresh-water ocean,' Babylonian *apsû*, Heb. *tehôm*.

come to mean simply 'prince,' 'noble,' 'freeman,' just as Aramaic *barnâšâ*, 'son of man,' comes to mean 'man.'[8] The Mummu (= Μωνμις of Damascius) who together with Apsû is slain by Ea in the first uprising of the powers of Chaos, as described in in the first tablet of the Babylonian Creation Epic, recently completed by the Assur fragments published by Ebeling, is originally a doublet of Mummu Ti'âmat. In Sumerian Apsû, as the Mother Engur (Amorok of Berossus[9]) is feminine, as reflected by the statement in the epic that Apsû took his 'vizier,' Mummu, on his lap and kissed him. In Sumerian cosmogony the subterranean fresh waters are the mother of all; the Semites regarded the fresh water ocean, Heb. Tehôm, as the father of all life, who pours his fertilizing seed into the lap of the earth, while the orthodox Sumerian conception is that the fresh water sea is a woman, from whose subterranean womb the waters are born. It would seem that Damascius's idea that Mummu = *νοητὸς κόσμος* is based upon a combination of Babylonian and Stoic ideas, like most of the writings of Stoic and Neo-Platonist comparative mythologists, following in the footsteps of Hecataeus and Plutarch. While it is possible that the late meaning of *bît mummu* (see below) influenced the explanation, it is sufficient to recall that the Sumerians and their Babylonian heirs saw the seat of a mysterious wisdom in the subterranean ocean, the *abzu*, 'abode of wisdom,' an idea which passed on to the Gnostics (*AJSL., XXXVI*, 292 f.), and to the Stoics; Cornutus says (4, 13) of Poseidon, *λόγος καθ' ὃν ἰδίει ἡ φύσις*, and (8, 13) of Oceanus, *ὁ ὠκέως νεόμενος λόγος*. This, however, is only a late and very secondary interpretation based on the Babylonian ideas which began filtering in to Stoic thought through Poseidonius.

It is, however, true that the Babylonians later confused *mummu*, 'lord,' with *mummu*, 'mill,' in their scholastic learning often adopting the most fanciful interpretations, based on folkloristic conceptions.[10] *CT., 13*, 32, rev. 10, we read: *mummu*

[8] It is true that there is an apocalyptic connotation to the expression 'Son of Man' in the apocalyptic literature. This question I will discuss in an article to appear in the *Revue de l'histoire des religions.*

[9] See *AJSL., XXXV*, 162, n. 3.

[10] Cf. *JAOS, XXXIX*, 69.

irpêtum liš (Langdon *ut!*) *taqçibâ-ma—mummu rigmu* = 'Let mummu grind[11] the clouds—*mummu* = thunder.'[12] Another commentary, published by King, *Seven Tablets of Creation*, Vol. II, plate LIV, 82—3—23, 151, gives the following words, taken with slight modifications from a connected text: *mummu. irpêtu. malû. ḳâçibu. nîši. ti'ûtu. nadânu*, the original of which may be rendered, 'Mummu grinds the clouds, full of rain, and gives food to the people.' This explanation of *mummu* obviously reflects the wide-spread popular belief that thunder is caused by the grinding of a celestial mill, or by the bruising of the clouds in a mortar with a stone pestle, a still more primitive idea. The clouds are bruised by the thunder stone, and the food-producing rain oozes out. Thus the Brazilian Mundurucus think that the mother of the rain causes thunder by rolling her pestle in the mortar.[13] The thunder-god Indra possesses a great mill-stone,[14] primarily, of course, to produce thunder. Here also belongs the Finnish celestial mill Sampo, and perhaps the German Grotti.[15]

Bît mummu is undoubtedly used of a technical school for craftsmen and architects, but there is no proof that it corresponded to our 'university,' and the etymology given by Jensen is impossible.[16] Thureau-Dangin's reading of *UMUN-ma* = *ummuḳu*, savant, as *mum-ma* (*RA.*, *16*, 170) is erroneous; the correct reading is *um-ma=ummea*, savant. The passage IV R 23, 1, Col. 4, 25, *enuma alpa ana bît mummu tušêribu* = 'If you bring an ox into the house of the *mummu*,' shows that *bît mummu* means primarily 'mill-shed,' whence 'work-shop, technical school.'

After the archaic term *mummu*, 'lord,' had fallen into disuse except as an appellative of Marduk and a few other gods, it was very natural to interpret it as 'mill,' and to suppose that it refer-

[11] Assyr. *ḳaçâbu*, 'break, cut,' is Heb. *ḳaçâv*, Ar. *ḳâçaba*, 'break, cut.'

[12] For *rigmu*, 'thunder,' cf., *e. g.*, Amarna (Knudtzon Ed.) No. 147, 13. Rammân as thunderer is called *Râgimu*.

[13] *Pennsylvania Museum Journal*, Vol. 8, p. 138.

[14] *Atharva Veda*, *2*, 31.

[15] Cf. Kuhn, *Herabkunft des Feuers*, p. 102 f., where the subject is not, however, treated with the breadth to be expected now, after two generations of progress beyond the methods employed in that remarkable work.

[16] Cf. note 5, above.

red to Marduk in his quality of grinding the clouds. It appears then that no Babylonian philosophical theory of creative evolution can be deduced from the use of the term *mummu*.

Langdon goes on to establish a Babylonian principle of cosmic reason (p. 444) from the expressions *markasu* and *tarkullu*, which mean, according to him, 'band, rope, guide, leader,' and finally 'form, pattern.' Incidentally, he takes occassion to ridicule Jensen's translation of the words as 'mooring-post.'[17] It may very easily be shown that Jensen was right in this rendering; both in Egypt and in Babylonia the mooring-post was a most popular metaphor, used to indicate stability and permanence. On account of the similar geographical environment of the two countries, navigation developed in a similar way, and its terminology received essentially the same tropical treatment. In both countries death was the final mooring on the bank of the river of life (Eg. *mny*, Bab. *emêdu*). *Markasu*, like its synonym *maḫrašu*, is a *nomen loci*, from *rakâsu*, 'fasten,' meaning thus 'the place of fastening (ships);' Sum. (*giš*) *dim-ma*, literally 'fastener of the ship,' is translated by *markas elippi* and *dimmu ša elippi*, and *dimmu* is also employed for 'fuller's bat, obelisk.' *Tarkullu*, from Sum. *dur-gul*, synonym of *dim-gul* (ideogram *GIŠ-MA-MUK*, wooden ship-fastener) = *dim-gal*, lit. 'great fastener,' has the same meaning, as is certain from the Flood Poem, where (line 97) the storm-god tears out the *tarkullê* in order that the hurricane may destroy the ships that are moored to them. Anyone who has read a description of a typhoon on a Chinese river will sympathize with the unlucky fisherman whose boat is swept from its moorings. Temples and palaces are called the *markas mâti*, or the *tarkul mâti*, because they tower above the plain, and seem to be in its center, drawing all men to them and ensuring the security of the state by their own stability. Ar. *markaz*, center, metropolis, is ultimately derived from *markasu*. The Babylonian expression is closely related psychologically to the conception of a temple or city as the navel of the world, or the hub of the universe. The transference of the epithet *tarkullu* from temple to god (Langdon suggests the reverse) is perfectly natural; in addition to Langdon's illustrations may be mentioned

[17] Cf. Jensen, *Mythen und Epen*, p. 495.

II R 57 + cd, 55 f., where Ninurta is called *dimgul-anna* and *dimgul-kalamma*, 'mooring-post of heaven,' and 'mooring-post of the land.'

We have some excellent parallels in Egyptian and Greek. In the Eloquent Paasant, B. 1, 90—91,[18] a noble is called hyperbolically 'rudder (*ḥmw*) of heaven, brace (*s'w*) of earth.' Cf. also the illustrations given by Devaud, *Sphinx*, *13*, 97 f.: 'pillar (*wḫ'*) of heaven, brace of earth;' 'mooring-post (*nmr*) of heaven, brace of earth.'[19] Similarly, in the Iliad, *16*, 449, Sarpedon is called the ἔρμα πόληος, 'pillar of the city;' the ἔρμα was a post placed under a ship to hold it upright after being drawn on shore. All these expressions are metaphors referring to the stabilizing of something essentially unstable, and do not allude to a creative reason binding the universe together, as Langdon thinks. It is difficult to see why anyone should prefer an esoteric explanation to such a natural and simple one.

The view of Hehn, mentioned above, is more sober, but is based partly on the same misunderstanding of *mummu* as 'divine reason.' Hehn does not allude to the 'word of Enlil,' but lays the emphasis on the sonship of Marduk and his character as savior of man in the famous incantation representing a colloquy between Marduk and his father Ea. Thus Marduk, the *mummu*, would be the prototype of the Logos of Philo and John. Hehn's theory is, however, quite distinct from the views of Radau, as presented in his *Bel, the Christ of Ancient Times*, and Zimmern, who in his brochures *Zum Streit um die Christusmythe* and *Zum babylonischen Neujahrsfest, Zweiter Beitrag*[20] develops very similar ideas, adopted by Frazer and others. The same underlying similarities may be found in the cult and mythology

[18] Cf. Vogelsang, *Kommentar zu den Klagen des Bauern*, p. 85.

[19] For additional illustrations of a similar character see now Grapow, *Vergleiche und andere bildliche Ausdrücke im Ägyptischen (Der alte Orient*, Vol. 21, Part 1—2) p. 12 (metaphors applied to gods).

[20] Zimmern's masterly treatment of the philology should not blind one to the fact that he has misunderstood some vital passages in the first text studied, and that the latter is thus not nearly so striking a parallel to the Passion of Christ as he thinks. The important new parallels with the Attis and Osiris cycles, however, are of the greatest possible interest.

of any Oriental savior god, and have nothing to do with the philosophical doctrine of the Logos.

Between the Hellenic Reason (λόγος = *ratio*, not *sermo* or *verbum*)[21] of the Stoics and the Mesopotamian goddess of wisdom a gulf is fixed, a gulf as wide as that between the Hellenic joy in life and nature and the Oriental dualism of the Gnostics. In my paper, 'The Goddess of Life and Wisdom,'[22] I have traced the development of the Mesopotamian goddess of wisdom through her mythological and theological history until she is finally absorbed with Philo into the Godhead, becoming by the Most High mother of the Logos. Without accepting Rendel Harris's view of the sequence of Sophia and Logos stages in early Christianity, we may note that the two hypostases, similar as they may appear superficially, are yet at bottom as far apart as the antipodes. The Logos represents the belief in the reign of the human mind, and its triumph over environment, while the Sophia reflects the belief in a mysterious wisdom, handed down from gray antiquity, when the gods revealed it to man. The Sophia doctrine is the sign of stagnation, the Logos of progress. Hence the effort to find an Oriental source for the Stoic doctrine of the Logos is bound from the outset to prove a failure.

The Babylonians undoubtedly did possess an incipient metaphysics based upon the animistic conception that the form or outline of a thing is a separable soul, an idea which originated in the beliefs concerning the shadow, and also in the practices of sympathetic magic, where the soul of a man might be captured by being enclosed in a magic circle or outline representing the man's body. Once admitting that the outline of an object had a separate existence from the object, it would naturally have to be considered older, just as the outline or plan of a building or ship, cast by the hand of an architect, is older than the building itself. Hence the term *giš-zar* was employed by the Sumerians

[21] Cf. Haupt, *The Beginning of the Fourth Gospel*, *Am. Jour. of Philology*, Vol. 41, pp. 177 ff.

[22] See *AJSL.*, *XXXVI*, 258—294, especially 285 ff. I am heartily in accord with Zimmern's remarks in *Zeitschrift der deutschen Morgenländischen Ges.* Vol. 74, p. 432, n. 3, that Gnosticism is almost purely of Oriental origin, going back mainly to late Aramaean syncretism; cf. AJSL XXXVI, 290 f.

in the sense both of a specific plan or outline, and of prototype. Before the creation of any person or of any object, that person or object exists as a mystic prototype in heaven, or in the mind of the gods. Since these plans are thought of as being in heaven, they were identified later with the constellations, while the movement of events was believed to be typified in the movement of the heavenly bodies. This explains the origin of the great astrological system, which, with all its absurdities, was mother of our astronomy, and thus one of the greatest contributions of the Babylonian genius to civilization. The kernel of this development of Sumerian metaphysics is found in a passage from the remarkable Sumerian poem, published recently by Ebeling,[23] which describes the creation of the world, and the giving of life to man through the blood of Lamga (name of Tammuz as the architect):

'Aruru (the creatress) a goddess worthy of lordship,
Shall design the plans known to her alone.
O artists and architects![24]
Like grain which grows of itself from the earth (are her plans),[25]
Changeless as the eternal stars,
Which celebrate the festivals of the gods day and night —
Herself she shall design the great plans.'

[23] Ebeling, *Keilschrifttexte aus Assur religiösen Inhalts*, No. 4. The text has been studied by Ebeling, *ZDMG.*, *LXX*, 532 ff.; Langdon, *Poème sumérien du paradis*, pp. 42 ff.; Landersdorfer, *Biblische und babylonische Urgeschichte*, pp. 66 ff. The passage translated here is taken from the rev., 17—25. My rendering is absolutely independent of the others, and I have not seen reason to change it since comparing it with them.

[24] This line is in the vocative, like the phrase *qiqqiš qiqqiš igar igar* 'reed-huts, brick-walls!' in the Flood-tablet. Aruru, however, is not directly addressed, as Ebeling supposes.

[25] Ebeling's idea that the 'Weise und Helden' are to spring spontaneously from the ground is impossible. The similes of grain and the stars refer clearly to the plans of Aruru, from which the universe springs spontaneously, like grain, yet which are immutable as the constellations. Compared with her immortal designs the plans and skill of the craftsmen are as nought.

BRIEF COMMUNICATIONS

Heb. *roʿ*, evil = Arab. *ʿurr*

IN Zeph. 3 1 Jerusalem is called *filthy and polluted.* RV substitutes *rebellious* for *filthy*, but AV is correct: we must not read *môrĕʾâ*, but *morʾâ* = *morʿâ*, participle Hofʿal of the stem of the post-Biblical *rŏʾî*, excrement = *rĕʿî*. Kel. 17, 2 we have *bêṯ-hâ-rĕʿî*, commode, close-stool, and in Ber. 25[b]; Shabb. 47[a] (BT 1, 93, l. 2; 424, l. 29)[1] we find *gârâf-šäl-rĕʿî*, chamber-vessel or bed-pan (*gârâf* = *garrâf*). For the spelling of *rĕʿî* with *i͡ôḏ* after the *r* cf. Levias, § 13; Margolis, § 3, l; JBL 36, 76, n. 3; contrast 38, 155, n. 3. Instead of *rŏʾî*, excrement, we had better read *rĕʾî*. 𝔊 ἐπιφανής (𝔖 *iḏîʿtâ*) derived *môrĕʾâ* from *raʾâ*, to see (*cf.* ZAT 29, 283, n. 2). Buxtorf's lexicon[11] (1710) p. 703 states that according to some, *môrĕʾâ* means *inquinata, foedata, monstrosa.* Döderlein remarked in Grotius' *Annotationes* (1776): *Vocem Hebraeam môrĕʾâ a rĕʾî, stercor* (sic!) *derivat b. Vogel* (*urbs foeda*). Graetz stated in his *Emendat.* (1893): *Môrĕʾâ, squalida, immunda, a rŏʾî* = *rĕʿî, stercus*; *cf. Nah.* 3 6. Levy (4, 405[a]) had called attention to Rashi's explanation of this passage, but *u͡ĕ-śamtîḵ kĕ-roʾî* means *I shall make thee a sight,* i. e. *a gazing-stock* of wretched misery (*Nah.* 10; ZDMG 61, 285, l. 40). Levy (3, 235[a]) derived also *murʾâ*, gut, gizzard (Lev. 1 16) from the stem of *rĕʾî* = *rĕʿî*, excrement. For the softening of the *ʿaiṉ* see JBL 36, 257; *cf.* JHUC, No. 316, p. 23.

Also Heb. *gaʾál*, to pollute, is a doublet of *gaʿál* which may be connected with Arab. *júʿal*, dung-beetle, plur. *jiʿlân* (cf. *abû-jiʿrân*). Arab. *jaʿr*, excrement; *jaʿs*, dung; *jaʿu͡*, dung-heap,

[1] For the abbreviations see vol. 38 of this JOURNAL, p. 142, n. 2.

are derived from the same root (JBL 37, 222). *Juʿmûs* may be a transposition of *majʿûs*, just as *zámhara* may be metathesis of *mázhara* (JBL 34, 55, l. 8; 37, 227). We find also the transposed form *ʿájalah*, dirt. In the same way Heb. *ga'ál*, to redeem (originally *to pay an equivalent*) is identical with Arab. *jâʿala*, to bribe, inf. *jiʿâl*, pay, wages, bribe (contrast BA 3, 70, l. 36). The primary meaning of *majʿûl*, salary, is *set*, fixed, stated, stipulated; *cf.* Assyr. *šîmu*, price; fem. *šîmtu*, fate. In post-Biblical Hebrew we have the Babylonian loanword *šûm* (= *šuḭḭum*; cf. AJSL 1, 180, n. 1; 32, 67, l. 4; JBL 35, 156; 36, 98) appraisement, valuation. For Arab. *jáʿala*, to begin, we may compare our *to set on* (German *ansetzen*). In Syriac, *aḡʿil* means *to place* for care or custody (*çêḏ ʾḥrên*) i. e. *commit*, intrust.

Just as Heb. *mor'â*, filthy, is connected with *rĕ'î*, excrement, so Heb. *ço'î*, soiled, is derived from *ço'â* = *çe'â*, excrement (Assyr. *çû*). *Môça'ôṯ*, latrines (2 K 10 27) is a formation like *môḇâ* (Ethiop. *mûbâ*; AJSL 2, 6, n. 1) for *maḇô*, entrance (Ethiop. *mebṵâ*). The stem of *ço'î* has a $ç_2$ (cf. Syr. *çî* = *çĕ'î* and Arab. *ṵáçi'a*, to be soiled; also *çáḭḭa'a*, to leave the head in a soiled condition; to clean it slightly, but not thoroughly): it is therefore different from *ḭaçâ*, to go out, which has a $ç^3$ (BAL 96; JAOS 28, 115). In vulgar German, *beschissen* (cf. our *dingy* = *dungy*, French *merdeux*, Ital. *merdoso* or *merdellone*, and the Catullian *cacata charta*) is used for *soiled* (AJP 27, 160). I have shown there that our *cheated* had originally the same meaning (*cf.* also AJSL 22, 254, †). In Ethiopic, *çê'a* means *to stink*.

German *Dreck*, excrement, filth, is used as a contemptible expression for something *bad* or *worthless*, and *Dreckkerl* (or *Dreckseele*; cf. French *âme de boue*) denotes a *foul* or *low fellow* (Span. *cagado*). Shakespeare uses *filth* (cf. Lat. *lutum*) in the same sense, and *filthy* for *low*, mean, contemptible, just as we use *dirty* for *base*, low, groveling. Arab. *juʿsûs*, mean, contemptible, is derived from *jaʿs*, dung, filth (for the form *cf.* Barth, § 144, γ; ZDMG 61, 714, l. 13). *Dungy* is also the primary connotation of Heb. *raʿ*, evil, which appears in Assyrian as *raggu*, with *g* for ʿ as in Syr. *gĕḥîk* for *ʿĕḥîk* = Arab. *ḍáḥika*,

to laugh (AJSL 22, 253, †; JAOS 32, 12, n. 18). Heb. *raʿ*, evil, means originally *excrementitious*, fecal, ordurous, filthy, dirty, nasty, foul, vile, offensive, fetid, noisome, disgusting, loathsome. On the other hand, our *ordure* is the Ital. *ordura*, filth, which is connected with *orrido*, nasty = Lat. *horridus*. Luther has *scheusslich* for *môrĕ'â*, Zeph. 3 1. The primary connotations of Assyr. *bîšu*, bad, and *ṭâbu*, good, are *fetid* and *fragrant*, respectively (ZA 30, 61). The he-goats, which have a strong and offensive odor, are the emblems of evil (Matt. 25 23,41). According to CD, *bad* seems to be of nursery origin, *viz.* a dissimilated form of *ba-ba*, German *bäbä* (both vowels very short and the last syllable strongly accented) which is used as an exclamation to warn infants not to touch something nasty: when an infant tries to touch *e. g.* the excrements of a dog, the nurse will say, *Bebbéh!* Zupitza derived *bad* (= *bad-de*) from OE *bæddel*, hermaphrodite, applied contemptuously (see the new Oxford dictionary).

Heb. *raʿ*, bad, appears in Arabic in the transposed form *ʿarr*. We must assume that the biconsonantal roots were transposed, and that *rʿ* became *raʿaʿ*, while *ʿr* became *ʿarar*. Similarly *raʿâʿah*, female ostrich, is a transposition of *ʿarârah*, fem. of *ʿarâr* which denotes the cry of the male ostrich (cf. *ruʿâb* and *ráʿabat al-ḥamâmah*; see also AJSL 32, 143). We have the same root *ʿr*, to cry, in *iṣáʿira*, to bleat, and *náʿara*, to low, bellow. Heb. *naʿr* means originally *cry-baby*, bawler; cf. *naʿr bôkê*, Ex. 2 6; French *enfant criard* (GB[16] xviii, *ad* p. 510[b]). I do not believe that Assyr. *nâru*, singer, is a Sumerian loanword (ZA 31, 119). Cf. my remarks on Heb. *šîr*, song, in JHUC, No. 316, p. 23. Just as Assyr. *šêru*, song, is connected with *šâru*, wind, so Arab. *saj*ʿ, rimed prose, is derived from *sájaʿa*, to coo, *i. e.* to utter a low, plaintive, murmuring sound. The American turtle-dove is called *mourning-dove*; cf. *Nah.* 46; ZDMG 61, 296, l. 6, and l. 64 of the cuneiform psalm addressed to Istar, which is translated in the appendix to Delitzsch's third lecture on Babel and Bible (Stuttgart, 1905) p. 68; Zimmern, *Babyl. Hymnen und Gebete* (Leipzig, 1905) p. 21.

Arab. *ʿárra* is used of the fecal evacuations of a bird, but it means also *to harm* (*ʿárrahu* = *sâ'ahu*). *ʿArrara* signifies *to*

manure, and *aʿárra*: to be filthy. The twelfth form, *iʿráṷrâ* (*ámran qabîḥan*) corresponds to Heb. *heréʿ*, to do evil, commit moral wrong. *Taʿârra mina-'l-láḭli* must be connected with Heb. *neʿôr miš-šĕnaṭô* (GB[16] 573[b]). *ʿUrrah* means *dung*, filth, vice, and *maʿárrah*: crime, sin, harm. *Aʿárru* signifies *more evil*, worse, and *ʿárrâ* is a *bad woman*. *ʿArr* is synonymous with *šarr*, evil (JBL 36, 141): we find *laqîtu mînhu šárran ṷaʿárran*, I experienced from him evil and mischief; *ánta šárru mînhu ṷa-'aʿárru*, thou art worse than he and more evil. Syr. *ʿarʿár*, to wash out the mouth, to clean the teeth, is privative (to unsoil; cf. Lat. *latrinas stercorare*; German *misten*, to clean the stable; see *Est.* 35, below; *Mic.* 105, n.*). A causative (ZDMG 64, 706, l. 36; JBL 35, 320) derived from *ʿar* is *saʿára*, to infect (with itch, Arab. *ʿarr*, *ʿurûr*). The original meaning of Arab. *ʿárra*, to be itchy, mangy, scabby, is *to be filthy*, loathsome. On the other hand, our *shabby*, mean, base, scurvy, meant originally *scabby*, mangy, and the primary connotation of *scurvy*, vile, mean, worthless, offensive, malicious, is *scorbutic* (for scurvy in AV see DB 3, 329[b]). *Shab* is merely an assibilated form of *scab*, and *scab*, which was formerly used as a term of contempt for a mean, shabby fellow, and which denotes now especially a workman who takes the place of a striker, meant originally *affected with scabies*.

Vollers' combination of Heb. *raʿ* with Arab. *raʿâʿ*, vicious young men, dregs of the people, rabble (syn. *xasîʿah*; cf. Lat. *faex populi*, *sentina urbis*, *caenum plebejum*) was more correct than the view of Gesenius, Fürst and König, that Heb. *raʿáʿ*, to be evil, is identical with *raʿáʿ*, to break, which is the Aramaic form of Heb. *raṣáṣ*. Fürst even believed that *raʿ*, evil, might be connected with Arab. *ḏáʿḏaʿa*, to shake, scatter, squander. For *raʿ*, evil, prop. *mangy*, we may compare the French phrase *être méchant comme la gale*, and for *rĕʿî*, excrement, from a stem *raʿaḭ* = *raʿaʿ* cf. Arab. *járâ*, *ḭájrî* = Assyr. *garâru*, to run (JBL 32, 141, n. 14) and Syr. *márrî*, to make bitter, as Pael of *mar* (= *marar*) to be bitter (see AJSL 32, 75 and JBL 38, 163.

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Heb. *mardûṯ*, chastisement and chastity

In 1 S 20 30 (J[1]) Saul calls his son Jonathan *bĕn-naʿ ṿáṯ ham-mardûṯ*. This does not mean *Thou son of the perverse, rebellious woman* (AV) but *thou son of an unchaste woman* which is equivalent to the Shakespearean *whoreson*; cf. Lagarde, *Mitteil.* 1, 236; Driver, Budde, Schlögl, and Kautzsch's AT[3] *ad loc.* I have explained the two preceding verses in OLZ 12, 66; OC 33, 90. The literal translation of this phrase is *son of a woman who has been led astray with regard to discipline* or *moral training*, chastity; *cf.* GK § 128, x; for the article prefixed to *mardûṯ* see § 126, e. Heb. *naʿ ṿâ* corresponds to Arab. *inğáṿâ*, to be led astray; Arab. *ğaiį* (= *ğaṿį*) denotes *error*, sin (Heb. *ʿaṿôn* = *ğaṿiân*) and Arab. *ṿáladu ğáiįatin* signifies *bastard*. ℌ has *bar ḥassîráṯ mardûṯâ*, son of a woman lacking discipline (or chastity). Syr. *ṭĕlîṯâ ḏĕ-lâ rĕḏîṯâ* is an ill-bred (badly brought up) girl.

Syr. *mardûṯâ* (Nöldeke, *Syr. Gr.*[2] § 138, B) means *discipline* and *chastisement*, and both *chastisement* and *chastity* are derived from Lat. *castigare* which means not only *to chastise*, but also *to restrain*. The original meaning of *castus*, chaste, is *restrained*; cf. ἐγκρατὴς ἀφροδισίων, Heb. *çanûʿ* = Arab. *ḍarûʿ* (GB[16] 688[b]) and our *continent* = chaste. The verbs *to chaste* and *to chastise* were formerly used for *to reduce to submission*. To *discipline* may mean also *to keep in subjection*, regulate, govern, which is the usual meaning of *raḏâ* in Hebrew; but the primary connotation of this stem is *to beat*. This may mean *to strike*, to strike with the foot in moving, to tread upon, to overcome, vanquish, conquer (*cf.* JSOR 1, 8, below). We speak of a *beaten path* or the *beat* of a policeman, just as Arab. *ṭarîq*, path, is derived from *ṭáraqa*, to beat, and Assyr. *kibsu*, path, from *kabâsu*, to tread (JHUC, No. 306, p. 4). Syr. *mardîṯâ* therefore denotes *course*, journey.

Assyr. *radû* means *to go*, march, run, flow. Assyr. *radû*, to drive, to lead, to reign, signifies originally *to cause to go* (cf. Syr. *árdî* and Heb. *hôlîḵ*, 2 K 5 19) and the primary meaning of Assyr. *radû*, to pursue (cf. *radâdu* and Ethiop. *rôda*) is *to go after*, whereas Heb. *raḏáf* is a transposition of *parâdu* (JBL

35, 158). Assyr. *redû*, to unite sexually, means *to tread* = to copulate; *cf.* our *the cock treads the hen* and Syr. *dĕrûḵtâ*, concubine, from *daraḵ*, to tread (Nöldeke, *Syr. Gr.*² § 113). Syr. *dĕraḵ ʿal-át(tĕt)â*, to force a woman, does not correspond to Heb. *ʿinnâ iššâ*, but to Arab. *dájala* = *jâmaʿa*, which is identical with *dákala* = *ṯáṭi'a*; the *j* = *g* = *k* is not due to the *l* (AJP 17, 489, n. 1; JBL 36, 141, n. 3) but to the *d*; cf. Assyr. *durgu*, path = *durku* (Heb. *dārḵ*). Heb. *daráḵ qāšṯ* means originally *to subdue the bow* (see below, p. 161). The *e* in Assyr. *redû* suggests a final ʿ; *redû* may therefore correspond to Arab. *ráda'a* = *jâma'a*. As a rule, Arab. *ráda'a* means *to check*, restrain; *cf.* above, the remark on Lat. *castigare*, to restrain.

𝔊 *υἱὲ κορασίων αὐτομολούντων*, which may mean *O son of runaway slavegirls* (so Stade, GVI 1, 240) has been defended by Klostermann. 𝔈 has *ṯálda ʾaṯâlĕd rĕḵûsât*, son of impure girls. If the original text had been *ben naʿrôṯ môrĕḏôṯ* (AJSL 26, 22, n. 40) it would not have been corrupted to *bĕn-naʿṯáṯ ham-mardûṯ*; cf. the remarks on 𝔊 *πρὸ τοῦ γενέσθαι ὑμᾶς* for *bĕ-ṭārm rāḏṯ ḥóqʿ alēḵém*, before Fate descend upon you, JBL 38, 154. 𝔊 may have combined 𝔐 *mardûṯ* with Syr. *mĕrîḏ*, fugitive, and *mârôḏâ* which means not only *rebellious*, but also *deserter*. *Αὐτόμολος* denotes *transfuge*, deserter, traitor. But the rendering of JV, *thou son of perverse rebellion*, which was given in the margin of AV as the literal meaning of the Hebrew phrase, is untenable, although we have in Syriac not only *mardûṯâ*, discipline, chastisement, from *rĕḏâ* to tread, go, run, flow, instruct, chastise, but also *mardûṯâ*, rebellion, impudence, from *mĕrâḏ*. While we have in Hebrew the abstract *malkûṯ*, the corresponding Syriac form is *malkûṯâ* with *k*, not *ḵ* (Nöldeke, *Syr. Gr.*² § 138).

The stem *marad* may be derived from a noun with prefixed *m* (JBL 34, 55; 37, 227) and the original meaning may be *to kick* (cf. AV, 1 S 2 29). Heb. *mĕrî*, obstinacy, on the other hand, means originally *stoutness* (cf. Assyr. *marû*, stout, fat) or *stout-heartedness*. The verb *to stout* was formerly used in the sense of *to defy*, resist. Also the primary meaning of Arab. *máru'a*, to be manly, is *to be stout*, i. e. *strong*, sturdy, valiant, brave.

𝔍 *filie mulieris virum ultro rapientis* means *filie mulieris virosae*. Horace (*Sat.* 1, 3, 109) says: *venerem incertam rapientes*

modo ferarum; Tacitus uses the phrase *illicitas voluptates rapere.* This verb means also *to chase*, pursue, run after. *Ultro = sponte*, unsolicited.

The objection has been raised (Löhr, Nowack) that *mardûṯ* is Syriac rather than Hebrew, and that it is unparalleled in OT, but we must restore *mardûṯ* in Is. 14 6 where we should read: *rôḏê ba-'áf gôyîm mardûṯ bělî-ḥaśóḵ* instead of 𝔐 *rôḏê ba-'áf gôyîm murdáf bělî-ḥaśák.* On the other hand, Ewald wanted to read *mirdôf* instead of *mardûṯ* in 1 S 20 30. The line in Is. 14 6 does not mean *which trampled the nations in anger, unchecked was his trampling* (rods do not trample nations) but *which angrily chastised nations in relentless chastisement.* Döderlein's reading *mirdâṯ*, which has been adopted by the modern commentators, is not good. The first line of v. 6 is an explanatory gloss to the second line, just as the first line of Is. 51 10 is a gloss to the last line of the preceding verse (AJSL 23, 258, n. 13). Similarly Job 26 13 (*With His breath He spread out the welkin, His hand slew the circler*) is explained by the preceding verse (*With His strength He quelled the sea, with His skill He smote the dragon*). For the *circler* cf. AJP 29, 307, and for *šifrár:* Assyr. *šuparruru* (HW 684; cf. *šuqallulu*, JBL 35, 322). The Hebrew text should be read as follows:

13 ברוּחוֹ שָׁמַיִם שִׁפְרָר חוֹלְלָה יָדוֹ בָּרְחַ׃

12(α) בכוחו רגע הים ובתבונתו מחץ־רהב 13(β) נחש

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Pelican and Bittern

In the Maccabean poem (*c.* 145 B. C.) predicting the fall of Nineveh, *i. e.* Antioch (*Nah.* 10; ZDMG 61, 285, l. 18) we find (Zeph. 2 14) the gloss: *Both pelican and bittern* (EB[11] 13, 387) *will lodge on her capitals*, Heb. *gam-qâṯ gam-qippôḏ bĕ-ḵaftôrêhâ ʾalînu.* I have explained the preceding line in JHUC, No. 316, p. 23. The Hebrew name for the pelican should be pronounced *qâṯ*, not *qa'áṯ*; cf. *Cant.* 56, 11; AJSL 23, 233;

Mic. 69, ii; JBL 35, 155. 283; 38, 151, n. 13; also *Kings* (SBOT) 119, 24; 167, 36; 274, 19; VG 49, *β*; 216, *η*. The construct state *qĕ'āṯ* is just as incorrect as the construct states *daiiăn* and *šulḥăn* (cf. *Est.* 9, l. 1) or the plural *tĕrafîm* instead of *târafîm* (OC 33, 35). In MSS of 𝔗 we find *qâṭâ*, pelican, without aleph between *q* and *t*. The derivation of this noun from *qâ'a, i̯aqî'u*, to vomit, is almost as bad as Gunkel's combination of *qau̯u̯ám* in Ps. 19 5 with the same stem (see JBL 38, 181). Heb. *qâṯ*, pelican, is connected with Arab. *qût*, plur. *aqu̯ât*, provisions, stores. From the same stem we have in Assyrian: *bît-qâti*, storehouse (HW 599[a]). We find *qâtu*, plur. *qâtâti*, stores, in l. 76 of the Flood tablet where we must read: *ina pûrê pissâti qâti addi*, in jars (*Est.* 31; AkF 33; MLN 33, 433) I put store-ointments, *i. e.* stores of ointment; *cf.* my translation in TAOC 72. Assyr. *pašâšu* to anoint, is a doublet of *mašâšu*, to touch, stroke, rub, smear, anoint = Arab. *mássa*, to touch = Heb. *mašáš*, to try by touch, feel, grope: *mašaš* became *bašaš*, and then, with partial assimilation, *pašaš*, just as Assyr. *balâṭu* to live (prop. *to survive*) corresponds to the Hebrew stems *palaṭ* and *malaṭ* (cf. Levy 4, 150[a]; AJSL 22, 253, l. 6; *Est.* 69, 9; contrast AJSL 34, 252). Heb. *mašáḥ*, to anoint (Assyr. *mašâ'u*) is derived from the same root (*cf.* KAT[3] 590, 3; 602, 4; SGl 114, below) as are also Arab. *másâ, i̯ámsî* = *másaḥa*, and *tamássaka*, to take hold of, as well as *mássada*, to massage. Medical rubbing may be combined with anointing or lubricating (*Est.* 22, l. 5) but we need not suppose that French *masser* is an Arabic loanword (EB[11] 17, 863[a]): we have in Greek: μάσσειν, to knead. Just as our *touch* means not only *to paint* (cf. *to retouch* and German *tuschen*) but also *to lay hands on for the purpose of harming*, so Assyr. *mašâ'u* has these two meanings. We use *touch* now also for *theft*, pocket-picking, &c. Arab. *mussa* signifies *he was possessed*, just as our *touched* may mean *crazy*. An allied stem is Arab. *máṯṯa* (*aš-šâriba*). For the *ṯ* see *Est.* 34, 9; JBL 35, 321, below. The stem *mašâlu*, to shine (JBL 36, 140; for Heb. *môšél* cf. Arab. *báhara = fâqa aqrânahu*) may be derived from the same root; *cf.* Ps. 104 15 and Assyr. *maššu*, shining, originally *rubbed*; also JBL 36, 88.

The pelican is called *qâṯ*, storer, because it stores food for itself and its young in its enormous pouch which holds several gallons. Pelicans are abundant in the swamps of the Jordan valley and the Orontes; also the bittern is a swamp-bird. If pelicans and bitterns are found in Antioch, it shows that the former glory of the city is buried in a swamp: the columns of the palaces are submerged, so that only the capitals are visible. Antioch was built on an island of the Orontes, and the stadium of Antioch is now a swamp, so that pelicans and bitterns may sit on the head of one of the metæ (Bædeker, *Palästina und Syrien*[7], 1910, p. 360). For the ancient names of Antioch and the Orontes see JBL 38, 157. Strabo (741) says that Alexander the Great found the tombs of the Babylonian kings in swamps (*cf.* Sprenger, *Babylonien*, Heidelberg 1886, p. 27). The breeding-places of pelicans are in the remotest parts of the swamps. For the *pelican of the wilderness* (Ps. 102 7) see Delitzsch *ad loc.* and DB 3, 738[b]. Wellhausen's rendering *screech-owl* is incorrect. ℭ has in Ps. 102 7 *kúma ádga-márab za-gadâm*; cf. Delitzsch, *Assyr. Studien* (1874) p. 93; SGl 83. For the Assyrian name of the pelican, *atân-nâri*, river-ass, *cf.* the names of the bittern (which is a corruption of *butor*, Lat. *butio*) in French (*taureau d'étang* or *bœuf de marais*, bog-bull) or German (*Wasserochs*, *Mooskuh*; German *Moos* = English *moss*, swamp; *cf.* the *Dachauer Moos* near Munich).

The name of the bittern, *qippóḏ* stands for *qoppóḏ* (cf. Syr. *qoppĕḏâ*, Arab. *qúnfuḏ*, hedgehog). We find the same vocalic dissimilation in *nîmôs* = *νόμος* (JAOS 34, 416; *cf.* WdG 1, 120, B). Heb. *qippód* is a transposition of *qiddóf*; cf. *Qiḏrôn* = *riqdôn* (JBL 38, 46). Arab. *qádafa* (or *dáfaqa*) means *to pour out*. The peculiar booming noise during the breeding season is produced by the male bittern drawing in much water and forcibly ejecting it (MK[6] 17, 56[a] below): so the primary meaning of *qippód* = *dippóq* may be *outpourer* (contrast Steiner *ad* Zeph. 2 14; RB 1174[b]). The sound of the booming of the American bittern is said to be like the pouring of water out of some gigantic bottle or the gurgling suck of an old-fashioned pump. Arab. *qúnfuḏ* (Ethiop. *qu̯ĕnfĕz*) porcupine, hedgehog, is an entirely different word. Hitzig, *Die prophetischen Bücher*

(1854) rendered Is. 34 11; Zeph. 2 14 *Pelikan und Rohrdommel*; cf. Guthe in Kautzch's AT[3] *ad* Is. 14 23. Duhm (1910) has in Zeph. 2 14 *Rohrdommel und Pelikan*, but in Is. 34 11 (1914) *Pelikan und Igel* as in the first (1892) and second (1902) editions of his commentary. The translation given in AV, *pelican and bittern*, is correct; RV *porcupine* for *bittern* is a mistake.

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Qaš, straw, and *qäšṯ*, bow

Heb. *qaš*, straw, and *qäšṯ*, bow, are derived from the same root (JBL 34, 184; 35, 323; 36, 222) which means originally *to be dry*, then *to be hard* (Heb. *qašê*; cf. Arab. *qásuba*) and *to be old* (Syr. *qaššîšâ*). We find these three meanings combined in Arab. *iqsaʾánna* = *ištádda*, *ʿásâ*, *kábira*. Shakespeare (*Comedy of Errors*, 2, 2, l. 64) speaks of a *dry basting*, i. e. a hard beating. In certain parts of England they say *to harden clothes* for *to dry* them by airing. Arab. *ʿásâ* means *to become dry*, and the intransitive verb *ʿásiṯa* signifies *to become old* (prop. *withered*).

Heb. *qaš* denotes *dry* grain-stalks; cf. *qaš ṯaḇéš*, Job 13 25; in Nah. 1 13, on the other hand, we must read *ba-ʾéš* instead of *ṯaḇéš* (see *Nah.* 22). The grain-stalks were cut about a foot below the ear (DB 1, 50[a]; EB 81; ZDMG 64, 710, l. 13). Arab. *qašš*, stubble, is an Aramaic loanword. In Assyrian we have *qiqqišu*, hut (*cf.* French *chaume, chaumine, chaumière*) = *qišqišu*; cf. the post-Biblical *qašqaššîm*, stubble, litter, shake-down, and *qiššóšṯ*, grain-stalk, straw (JAOS 32, 6; contrast AJSL 34, 242, 84).

Qäšṯ, bow, denotes something *bendable* (contrast Delitzsch, *Jes.*[3] 90). Similarly the synonym of Assyr. *qaštu*, bow, *miṯpânu*, (not *piṯpânu*, SGl 178) must be combined with Arab. *ṭánaba*, to be bent. Also Heb. *daráḵ qäšṯ* means *to subdue the bow*, force it to bend (AJSL 34, 220, n. 1). Heb. *qäšṯ rĕmîṯâ*, on the other hand, is a *slack bow* (JBL 34, 66) which *follows the string*, i. e. curves slightly when unstrung. An unstrung bow should

be quite or nearly straight. I have discussed Assyr. *miṭpânu*, bow, in a special paper (BA 10, 2).

Just as Ethiop. *ʾassáqa* means both *to draw a bow* (Heb. *mašáḵ bĕ-qäšṯ*, 1 K 22 34) and *to notch an arrow* (Arab. *afâqa*) i. e. to fit the arrow to the string by the notch, so Heb. *hiḏrîḵ* has the meaning *to notch:* in Ps. 45 5 we must read *haḏrêḵ ḥiççêḵa haš-šĕnûnîm*, notch thy sharp arrows (AJSL 19, 136; *Eccl.* 37). Ethiop. *ʾassáqa* appears in Assyrian as *nasâqu*, just we have in Assyrian *inçabâti*, ear-rings, for Ethiop. *aʾçâbât* (BAL 94; *cf.* JBL 37, 238, l. 11). *Miṭpâna lâ tanásuq* (KB 6, 256, l. 18) means *do not draw the bow.* This *nasâqu* is a transposed doublet of *sanâqu* (AJSL 33, 45; contrast 34, 221) = Arab. *ḏáʾiʾaqa.* For the infixed *n* cf. AJSL 21, 149, n. 82; 34, 223, n. 2; *Nah.* 25, 31; JBL 35, 156; 36, 257; JSOR 1, 92; also Arab. *ránaqa* (which must be combined with Assyr. *qarānu*, wine) = *râqa* (JHUC, No. 287, p. 32).

Qaš, to bend, means originally *to unharden.* Arab. *qássa*, to desire, is *to be bent* on something, while *qásara*, to force, is *to bend* a person to one's will. Arab. *qásara* has no connection with Heb. *qašár* which must be combined with Assyr. *qaçâru* and Ethiop. *qʷaçára.* Syr. *qĕṭár* shows that the *š* in Heb. *qašár* is a $š_1$ = Arab. *ṯ*; cf. Aram. *qaṭṭáʾiʾâ*, cucumbers = Heb. *qiššû'îm*; the *ṭ* instead of *t* is due to partial assimilation (SFG 73, below). Also the *ç* in Ethiop. *qʷaçára* must be explained in this way. The original Assyrian form may have been, not *qašâru*, but *qasâru* (cf. Assyr. *kabâsu* = Heb. *kabaš* and ZA 30, 62, l. 1). Assyr. *kešêru*, to restore, is not identical with Heb. *qašár*, but corresponds to the post-Biblical *kašér*, fit, sound, *kosher*; see JBL 35, 86, n. 6; *Kings* (SBOT) 262, **. Heb. *qaçár*, to harvest, means originally *to cut*; cf. Arab. *qáraḍa* = *qátaʿa* (also *qárḍaba* and *qárḍama*).

Merx derived *qäšṯ*, bow, from *ʾaqaš*, but *qäšṯ* is a biconsonantal noun like Assyr. *amtu*, handmaid; *šattu* = *šantu*, year; *šaptu*, lip (JSOR 1, 92). In Arabic we find *qáwṣ* for *bow.* In Hebrew we have this stem *qûš* in the denominative *hiṯqôšăšû*, bow yourselves, Zeph. 2 1 (*cf.* JBL 38, 156) and in the name of the river Kishon, Heb. *qîšôn* = *qûšôn*, bowed, bent, curved, tortuous, sinuous (*cf.* Arab. *aṯnaba-'n-nahru* and JAOS 34, 416).

Gesenius explained *Qîšôn* as *tortuosus*. The idea that Arab. *qâṷs*, Heb. *qâšṯ*, Syr. *qîštâ*, Ethiop. *qast* are all Babylonian loanwords (AkF 11) seems to me impossible.

The primary connotation of Heb. *hiqšîḇ*, to listen (*cf.* Arab. *taqássa* and *taqâsqasa*) is *to harden*, stiffen, erect (*cf.* Arab. *qâsaḥa*) the ears (so, correctly, König in his *Wörterbuch*, following Gesenius' *Thesaurus*). Heb. *qošṭ*, truth, means originally *erectness*. For *qošṭ* in Ps. 60 6 see my restoration of this Maccabean poem in FV 280. In Arabic, *qâsiṭa* is used of a withered neck or the hard and dry bones of a horse, and *qâsaṭa* has the privative meaning *to be unjust* (cf. JBL 36, 141, l. 17). *Qâsama*, to divide, from which *qismah*, fate, is derived, is *to adjust* = to proportion, apportion, allot. Assyr. *qîštu*, gift, means prop. *portion*. The name of Saul's father, *Qîš*, may mean *gift* (contrast EB 2682). Dr. Albright (AJSL 34, 233) combines Assyr. *qîštu*, gift, with Arab. *qîs*, measure. The primary connotation of *qîs* is *extent*; cf. Arab. *madd*, extent, stretch, and *mudd*, a measure for cereals, &c. *Qâṷasa* means also *to repay*, recompense.

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Assyr. *birku*, knee, and *karâbu*, to bless

Assyr. *birku*, knee, is a transposition of *rikbu* (cf. Aram. *arkûḇṯâ* and Arab. *rúkbah*). The original meaning of this stem, which is derived from the root (JBL 37, 222) *rak*, is *to be supple*. The knee is called *birku* = *rikbu*, because it is supple, *i. e.* easily bent. Arab. *rúkbah* denotes not only *knee*, but also *elbow*, i. e. the bend of the arm. For *hâ-'arkûḇâ šä-bag-gäfn*, Kil. 7 1 (BT 1, 264, 30) see JBL 35, 281, below. We have the root *rak* also in Syr. *rĕḵín*, to bend, incline, decline; *rîḵnâ*, inflection, modulation; *rĕḵînûṯ búrkâ*, genuflection; Arab. *ráka'a* to bow in prayer; see my paper on *Selah*, reverential prostration (ET 22, 375[a]) and the cut on p. lxxxvii of Bædeker's *Egypt*[7] (1914). Arab. *kára'a* = Heb. *karâ'* (JAOS 22, 73; JBL 37, 231) is a transposed doublet (*cf.* JBL 38, 47) of *ráka'a*. Assyr. *rakâbu*, to ride, means originally *to supple* a horse, make him

bend his neck to the left or right. The German term is *ein Pferd biegen*; see Theo. Heinze, *Pferd und Reiter*[5] (Leipsic, 1882) p. 430. Heb. *rakák*, to be supple, soft, pliant, means also *to lack manliness* or *courage*; cf. Arab. *irtáhaka*, to be weak, not firm. The original meaning of Arab. *ʿirk* (= *ʿárik*) thigh, haunch, is *softness*. Arab. *báraka*, to kneel, is a denominative verb; but Assyr. *rakâbu*, to ride, is not denominative, although the knees play an important part in riding: especially in galloping it is necessary to grip the horse with the knees, and in cavalry charges the men ride knee to knee.

Assyr. *karâbu*, to bless, is a transposition of *barâku*. This stem is derived from the root *bar* which we have in Heb. *bêr*, well (*cf.* above, p. 159, l. 1) and *bôr*, cistern. The primary connotation of Heb. *bĕrakâ*, blessing, and *bĕrekâ*, pool, is *fulness*; cf. Arab. *bárakati-'s-saḥâbu*, the clouds are full, *i. e.* rain incessantly; also *ibtárakati-'s-saḥâbatu* or *as-samâ'u*; Arab. *ǧámrah*, large body of water (JHUC, No. 306, p. 22) = Assyr. *ammaru*, fulness; Heb. *millêt*, pool (*Cant.* 63) and Syr. *millê'â*, overflow, pool, flood; Arab. *mal'u-'l-báḥri*, flood of the sea, high tide. The name of the Mâmilla Pool NW of the Jaffa Gate (see the map facing DB 2, 600) may be the corruption of an ancient Hebrew word *mamle'â*, fulness, pool. *Fulness* may mean *affluence*, plenty, abundance, copious supply, prosperity. Heb. *berék* = Assyr. *karâbu*, to bless, means originally *to bestow prosperity*. The original meaning of Assyr. *nuxšu*, abundance, blessing, is *downpour*, effusion, profusion (JAOS 17, 163; JBL 34, 61). We use *well-spring* for *fountainhead of supply*. Arab. *baḥr*, sea, is derived from the same root (AJSL 23, 245) as is also *báhara*, to shine (Ethiop. *bárha*). The original meaning of this stem is *to shine like the luster of a sheet of water* reflecting the light of the sun (*Cant.* 39). Arab. *tabáhhara 'l-'inâ'u* means *the vessel was full*. Heb. *barûr*, pure (*cf.* JBL 29, 105, n. 78) means originally *limpid* like water (*cf.* our *a diamond of the first water*) while the primary connotation of Arab. *bard*, cold, is *cold like water*; cf. Galen's *κρηναῖον ἔδεσμα* (AJSL 23, 242). Also Arab. *sábrah*, cold morning, and *sabr*, sounding, are derived from the root *bar* (AJSL 23, 248). In *çábrah*, severe cold, the initial *ç* is due to the *r* (JBL 37, 228).

Taçábbara, to be patient, means properly *to be cool*; Shakespeare says: *Upon the heat and flame of thy distemper sprinkle cool patience.* Arab. *taçábbara*, to wreak vengeance, corresponds to the German *seine Rache* (or *sein Mütchen*) *kühlen* (cf. Arab. *lâ tubárrid ʿánhu*). For the modern Arab. *çábar*, to wait, we may compare our *to cool the heels.* Arab. *basr*, cold water, and *tabássara* = *bárada* represent transpositions of *sábara.* Arab. *bâra*, to search out, signifies properly *to sound* (AJSL 23, 244, below) and *bâra*, to perish, is originally *to fall into a pit*; cf. Heb. *šiḥḥêṯ*, to destroy, which is derived from *šaḥt* (stem *šûḥ*) pit (AJSL 23, 248; JBL 35, 157, n. 2). In Assyrian, *bâru*, to pit, is the common expression for *to catch, to hunt*; see my paper on the Sumerian origin of our *tun* and *barrel* (MLN 33, 434).

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The Name Rebecca

The etymology of the name *Riḇḳā* (from **Riḇḳat* or **Raḇḳat*, cf. JBL, XXXVII, 117, n. 3) has long been regarded as obscure, as a combination with the phonetically identical Ar. *riḇḳah* or *raḇḳah*, halter with a running knot, noose, snare, is hard to justify; a girl would hardly be called by such an ominous name as *snare*, even if she were a courtesan. Accordingly Bauer (ZDMG, LXVII, 344) has suggested that *Riḇḳā* be regarded as as transposition of *beḳārā*, heifer, cow, which is in the highest degree improbable, despite the mythological possibilities which are immediately recalled (cf. JBL, XXXVII, 117). However, it may be that Bauer is on the right track; his ideas are always interesting and useful, even when wrong.

I would suggest that *Riḇḳā* be combined with Assyr. *riḳibtu*, clod, earth, soil, from *rabâḳu*, cultivate, a transposed doublet of *ḳ(k)arâbu*, cultivate, plow, whence Aram. כרב, Ar. كرب, *plow*, from which is derived *ḳurbânu*, *ḳirbânu*, lump of earth, and *ḳirûbu*, field, *ḳirbîtu*, originally connected with Ar. *ǧarîb*, cultivated field, for **ḳarîb*, by partial assimilation. For these words, which are not in the older glossaries, cf. Walther, ZDMG, LXIX, 429, and Zimmern, ZA, XXXI, 121; Walther is probably

correct in combining *riḳibtu* (not *rikibtu*, as he gives) with Heb. *rĕgeḇ*, clod, soil, for **raḳb*, but *'egrôf* = Ar. *ǧurf* is not related, though furnishing an interesting parallel development. On the other hand Heb. *rāḳāḇ*, Aram. *riḳbâ*, mold, decay, seems to refer primarily to *humus*, and thus to be identical with *riḳibtu*. Since the latter is presumably derived from *rabâḳu*, it stands for **ribiḳtu* = *Ribḳā*, which then means properly *soil*, *earth*.

Our philological exegesis, if correct, indicates that *Rebecca* is properly the name of the earth-goddess, like Ethiopic *Baḥêr* and *Mĕder*, personifications of Mother Earth who figure on the heathen Ethiopic inscriptions. The Egyptian earth-god *Gbb* (= Ar. *ǧabûb*, clod, soil, earth, Ember) was father of Osiris, the Hellenic (or Phrygian) Semele (= Slav. *zemlya*, earth, land) was mother of Dionysos, and Rebecca may have been the mother of the old Hebrew god of fertility, Jacob, the celestial bull who brought the fertilizing thunder-storm. I venture to say that this is as far as we can go with our motive in the saga of Jacob, which is of very complex origin, and, in the main, not mythological in character.

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The Assumed Hebrew Stem *skt*, be silent

Deut. 27 9, Moses opens an address to Israel with the words הַסְכֵּת וּשְׁמַע. The *pâsēḳ* after *hasket* is itself a suspicious circumstance, as it often indicates a corruption in the text, and the fact that סכת is a *ἅπαξ λεγόμενον* should make one hesitate before accepting the word. However, its existence seems to be attested by Ar. *sákata*, be silent, die, properly *subside*, and recently Assyriologists have discovered a stem *saḳâtu*, be silent (cf. now Zimmern, *Ištar und Ṣaltu*, p. 34). Are these combinations justified? I think not.

Ar. *sákata* is identical with Syr. ܫܟܬ, *sink*, *subside*, *give way*, as is shown especially by the derivative *šuḳtâ* or *šaḳtâ*, sediment = Ar. *'askât* (a collective from **sakt*, or the like), so has a ש$_3$, which appears in Hebrew as שׁ. A parallel stem, perhaps ultimately the same (cf. AJSL, XXXIV, 142) is שקט, *be still*,

quiet = Ar. *sâḳata*, subside, fall. The unassimilated *t* is preserved by Heb. שתק, *be still, quiet,* and Ar. *sâḳita*, be miserable.

There can be no doubt that *iskut, isákut* means *be silent* in Assyrian (*sakâtu* is contrasted with *ḳâlu, iḳûl*, shout) but the correct spelling is *šakâtu* = Aram. שכת. In Assyrian *š* before *k* or *ḳ* frequently becomes *s*, so we have *šakâpu* and *sakapu*, *šakânu* and *sakânu*, *ašḳubitu*, hump, and *asḳubitu*, *šikkatu* > *sikkatu* (cf. Haupt, ZDMG, LXIV, 711), etc.

In view, therefore, of the complete lack of support for the reading הסכת, I would suggest the emendation הִתְכַּנְּסוּ, *be gathered together* = הֵאָסֵף. *Be gathered together and hear* is a much more dignified preamble to a speech than *Be quiet and hear*. For the *hitpa'el* cf. Aram. הִתְכַּנָּשׁ, *gather together*, Dan. 3 3, 27.

Jerusalem W. F. Albright

The Hebrew Stems *dlḳ, grš, škḥ*

Heb. דלק, *kindle, light fire,* is Ar. *ḏáliḳa,* be sharp, bright, shine (lamp, &c.), *ḏálaḳa*, sharpen, light. The parallel stem *zlḳ*, be bright, appears in Aram. זלק, *shine, sparkle* = Assyr. *zalâḳu*, and Ar. *tazallaḳa*, be brilliant. Heb. דלק is then an Aramaism, borrowed from Aram. דלק, *burn, blaze*, אדלק, *kindle.* Such Aramaisms are not necessarily proof of post-exilic date, as Aramaic began to encroach on Hebrew even before the establishment of the monarchy. Such an Aramaism as נדר = نذر alongside of נזר is certainly very early.

Heb. גרש, *drive*, so far without an etymology, is a transposition of *šgr* = Ar. *sáǧara*, stir up (fire), spout (water), Aram. *šegár*, heat, send, throw (= Heb. שגר), the basic meaning being *stir.* Ar. *záǧara*, drive away, repulse, which might be partial assimilation for our stem, seems to be identical with Aram. *zegár*, restrain, compel, partial assimilation for *segár* = Heb. סגר, confine, close.

Heb. שכח, *forget,* also without an etymology, seems to be a transposition of חשך, *be dark*; cf. also Ar. *káḥaça* for **káḥasa,*

efface, obliterate, and for the development Ar. *ǧáhaba*, be dark, forget, while *ǧaiḥab* is *darkness, night.* Just as *forget* is synonymous with *be dark, dull,* so *remember* is *be sharp, bright, clear,* meanings all found in Ar. *ḏákara* = Heb. זכר, *remember.* For the transposition cf. the series *kḥl-ḥkl-ḥlk-klḥ*, be dark (Haupt, OLZ, XVI, 492), and Ar. *ḥnz-ḥzn-znḥ*, stink, as well as AJSL, XXXIV, 84. Among unrecognized transposed doublets in Hebrew is חדל = חלד (AJSL, XXXIV, 239); cf. also חמם = سخم, סחם (AJSL, XXXIV, 231).

Jerusalem W. F. Albright

On the Textual Crux in Isa. 48 8.

The word הִתְאַשָּׁשׁוּ has been interpreted in a great variety of ways, going back to the thirteenth century, when David Ḳimḥi derived it from אִישׁ and his father Joseph from אֵשׁ. Neither derivation is probable, nor does either accord with the context. From the stem אִישׁ *man* we should have in Hithpoel the sense "show yourselves courageous", which is just what the prophet does *not* wish to say to these rebels, who already have the courage of their evil convictions. No one can tell how the stem אֵשׁ *fire* could yield the form in the text, while as to the sense, both those who see in it *the red flush of shame*, and those who conceive it to denote *a flaming zeal for the glory of God* have to lug in the chief matter in question. A third and numerous group of authorities assume a stem אָשַׁשׁ kindred with Arabic *assa* II, *to stamp strongly* (said of horses). They separate again in their interpretations: "become strong", "stand fast", "strengthen your faith", "obtain well-grounded insights", all of which are manifestly contrary to the trend of the phrophet's exhortation. To obviate this objection, the word has been rendered "give up", from יָאַשׁ *to be desperate*, which however could hardly produce הִתְאַשָּׁשׁוּ.

The next resort is to alter the text. Lagarde proposed and Cheyne at first accepted הִתְבַּשָּׁשׁוּ *be ashamed of yourselves,* to wich Dillmann, whose criticisms I have been following thus far,

objects that the word would mean *be ashamed before each other*, which would ill accord with the parallel phrase *lay it to heart*. He prefers הִתְבֹּנָנוּ *become discerning*, which seems to be the word translated by the Peshito.

Dillmann's Commentary appeared in 1890. Duhm (1892) proposed an unlikely derivation from the noun תּוּשִׁיָּה and so rendered the word *conduct yourselves wisely* which comes to the same thing as Dillmann's *become discerning*. In the next year (1893) Klostermann suggested a simpler change which has found great favor, הִתְאַשָּׁמוּ (from אָשַׁם) *confess your guilt*. This suits the context well. Skinner (1896) mentioned it with other conjectures. Cheyne changed over to it in 1898. So Marti (1900) Box (1908) Wade (1911).

Now it is true that *own yourselves guilty* is precisely the address to the rebels which we want; but the objection to this and to all other changes of the text comes on the transcriptional side. If any word so familiar as הִתְאַשָּׁמוּ or הִתְבֹּנָנוּ or הִתְבַּשְּׁשׁוּ had stood in the original text, why should the scribe have given us the unfamiliar הִתְאוֹשָׁשׁוּ? At any rate, if we can preserve the ἅπαξ λεγόμενον and at the same time the needed signification, we shall have solved the problem. I suggest that the word may come from the Accadian stem אָשַׁשׁ *to be in pain*, which in the Hebrew Hithpoel would mean *to pain one's self* = μεταμέλομαι, *repent*. It is true that in Aramaic this stem with this sense appears as חָשַׁשׁ but if we assume for our passage a loan-word directly from the Accadian, it would scarcely take the uneuphonic form הִתְחַשָּׁשׁוּ. I would render verse 8 then: "Remember this and repent; lay it to heart, ye rebels".

May I now venture on a further step? I have long felt that in Isa. 16 7 the *raisin-cakes* אֲשִׁישֵׁי come on the scene prematurely and make a somewhat petty intrusion. We may accept the tradition that אֲשִׁישֵׁי means raisin-cakes in Hos. 3 1, like אֲשִׁישָׁה in II Sam. 6 19 etc.; the same meaning in this passage of Isaiah is certainly preferable to the alternatives, *men* (reading אַנְשֵׁי with parallel Jer.) or *foundations* (meaning *ruins!*). It is argued in favor of *raisin-cakes* that the context deals with vineyards and summer-fruits, and that a concrete is preferable to an abstract word.

But I would respectfully urge that both these considerations count on the opposite side, and that אֲשִׁישֵׁי is to be derived from אָשַׁשׁ *to be in pain.*

There is a natural progress of thought from verse 6 on. Kerak (Kir-hareseth) is coupled with Moab in verse 7 as in verse 11, the country being joined with a typical city. The fervent appeal of the fugitives (3–5) is answered first in large and general terms. Moab is proud and haughty; his boastings are empty. Moab shall wail, sorely stricken. *For*—with this word of verse 8 the poem passes to particulars, to vivid personification—the fields languish and the far-spreading vine of Sibmah. Verses 9 and 10 are filled with weeping over this vine, and over the summer fruits, the harvest, the fruitful field, the vintage shout. Verse 11 resumes and emphasizes verse 7.

The result is that abstract belongs with abstract and concrete with concrete; and that it accords with the general tone, not to say the dignity, of this poem, to render verse 7 as follows: "Therefore shall Moab wail for Moab; every one shall wail; for the *sorrows* of Kir-hareseth shall ye mourn, sorely striken".

Boston Wm. H. Cobb

Addenda

The manuscript of the brief communications, printed above pp. 152—165 was sent to the Editor in June, 1919.

Ad p. 152. — For the post-Biblical spelling *rêʿî* for *rĕʿî* we may compare Ethiop. *irêʿî* he pastures, for *irĕʿî*; we always find *irêʾî*, he sees, for *irĕʾî*; cf. Dillmann's grammar, § 46, b; § 92, last section; also his chrestomathy, p. 72, n. 1.

Ad p. 154. — In addition to *ʿiʿira*, to bleat, and *náʿara*, to bellow, I might have mentioned Arab. *táʿara*, to cry (cf. *túlaj* = *ṭúlaj*, eaglet, and ZDMG 63, 518, l. 39). There may be a connection between *ʿr*, cry, and *rʿ*, bad: in German, *böse* is used for *angry* (cf. our *bad blood* = angry feeling) and Assyr. *iççárux* (= *içtárux*) *kabittî*, lit. *my liver cried*, signifies *I was enraged*; similarly Assyr. *nagâgu* means *to cry*, and *nuggatu*: rage. HW 574 mentions also *šêgû*; this, however, does not correspond

to Heb. *šāgā* , but to Heb. *šĕ'āgâ* (BA 1, 105, n. *): a *kalbu šêgû* is not a *mad dog*, but a *barking dog*; our *bawl* meant originally *bark* or *howl* as a dog. In Assyrian psalms we find *kîma lêti inágag*, he bellows like a cow (WZKM 23, 361, n. 1; *cf.* JAOS 32, 17; JBL 36, 249. 254.) We have the root *ʿr* also in *tamâʿara*, to become livid from rage (cf. *raʿ*, Gen. 40, 7 = σκυθρωπός and Ger. *schlecht aussehn*) which is derived from a noun with prefixed *m* (cf. above, p. 153, l. 3). A secondary stem with prefixed *t* < *rʿ* is Arab. *tárīʿa* = *ásraʿa ilâ'-š-šárri*. The primary connotation of the root *rʿ* or *ʿr* seems to be *to cry*, then *to be loud, fetid, bad*. The term *loud* may mean *strong in smell*, of evil odor. We also speak of *loud colors*, Ger. *schreiende* or *grelle Farben*, Fr. *couleurs tranchantes*. Ger. *grell* is connected with *grollen*, to bear a grudge, and *grölen*, to bawl. MHG *grell* means *angry* (cf. Assyr. *çarâxu* and *nagâgu*). For the original meaning of our *shabby, scurvy, scab* (above p. 155) we may compare *measly*, which is now used for *miserable*, wretched, contemptible, but which means prop. *infected with larval pork-tapeworms* (Ger. *finnig*, Fr. *ladre*). In French, *ladre* is used for *miser*, niggard (*ladre vert*) and *miser*, of course, denoted originally a *miserable* or wretched person.

Ad p. 156. — The passage 1 S 20 30 has recently been discussed by Peiser in OLZ 24, 58 (March-April, 1921): he thinks that the original reading was *ban-nâʿûṯ ham-mardûṯ* which is supposed to mean *in vagabondage* (*nâʿûṯ* < *nûʿ*) *there is rebellion*. This explanation is untenable.

Ad p. 159. — If *abše* . . ., given at the beginning of l. 76 of the Flood tablet in iv R^2 (*cf.* NE 137, n. 17) be correct, we may read *abšêna*, herbage, herbs = Sumer. *absin*, growth (SGl 5). *Abšênu* is a synonym of *šer'u*, luxuriant growth = Arab. *ġaṯrah*, abundance = Hebr. *ʿošr*, wealth (JBL 37, 220, n. 3). We may then translate; *simples and salves I laid up* instead of *in jars I put stores of ointment*.

Ad p. 161. — Syr. *aqrís* means both *to dry* and *to harden*. We have this stem also in Hebrew: in Hab. 1 9 (*cf.* JHUC, No. 325, p. 48) we must read: *mĕzimmâṯ appêhém qĕrîsâ*, the cast (lit. σχῆμα) *of their features is hard* (𝔖 *ḥizṯâ ḏĕ-'appaiḥôn ʿaššîn*; cf. *aʿšín áppê*, to harden the face).

Ad p. 163. — For the connection between Assyr. *qaštu*, bow, and *qîštu*, gift, we may compare Arab. *sahm*, arrow and *lot*, share, portion (ZDMG 61, 276; JBL 36, 84).

Ad p. 164. — For the Mâmilla Pool *cf.* JAOS 39, 143, b. For *çábrah* = *sábrah* cf. Ethiop. *çabráqa* = *sabráqa*. We have the stem *baraq* also in the name *Rebecca* (contrast above, p. 165). Heb. *Ribqâ* = Arab. *barrâqah*, sheeny, *i. e.* glittering, shining, beautiful. *Ribqâ râbiqat* (JBL 38, 153, l. 4). The *r* might be doubled, not the *q* (Ρεβεκκα).

Johns Hopkins University Paul Haupt

PROCEEDINGS

DECEMBER 1919.

The fifty-fith meeting of the Society of Biblical Literature and Exegesis was called to order by President Goodspeed at 2.30 p. m. on December 29th, 1919, in Room 207 Union Theological Seminary.

The minutes of the last meeting were read and approved. The reports of the Corresponding Secretary and of the Recording Secretary were read and ordered accepted and placed on file. In connection with the deaths of members reported the President appointed Professors Fullerton and H. P. Smith to prepare memorial resolutions. The report of the Treasurer was read and referred to Professors Grant and Russell as an auditing committee. The subject of the financial prospects of the Society was discussed by the Treasurer, who offered a budget for the coming year, but was referred to the Council. The President appointed Professors Montgomery, Fowler and Easton as a committee to nominate officers for next year. Professor Bewer, on behalf of the Committee of Arrangements, made an oral report. The President appointed Professors Ropes and B. W. Robinson to prepare a resolution of thanks to the hosts of the Society. The Council was called to meet at 5.30 p. m.

Upon the completion of the business the Society turned to the symposium which had been prepared by the special committee appointed last year. The general subject was; The Criticism of Acts as related to the History and Interpretation of the New Testament. Papers were read as follows:

By E. J. Goodspeed: Presidential Address: The Origin of Acts
By J. H. Ropes: The Western Text of Acts
By H. J. Cadbury: Philological Criticism of Acts

Oral discussion was opened by C. C. Torrey and F. J. Foakes Jackson and continued by other members.

After the conclusion of the discussion a paper was read by Paul Haupt, "The just shall live by faith."

Monday Evening, December 29. The Society convened after 8.00 p. m. Papers were read and discussed as follows:

By Israel Friedländer: Recent Developments in Modern Hebrew
By T. J. Meek: A Proposed Reconstruction of Early Hebrew History
By J. A. Bewer: Textual Criticism of the Book of Ezra
By J. E. Snyder: The Hellenistic Cities in Deutero-Zephaniah

Tuesday Morning, December 30. The Society met at 9.15 a. m. Papers were read and discussed as follows:

By J. A. Montgomery: A Note on Two Syriac MSS. in New York City
By G. A. Barton: The Latest Defense of the Monotheism of Moses
By Miss L. P. Smith: Types of Parallelism as a Possible Test for Unity in Isaiah 56—66
By Joshua Bloch: The Meaning of the Name Peshitta as originally applied to the Syriac Old Testament
By J. A. Montgomery: A Case of the Tetragrammaton transliterated in the Septuagint Text of Daniel
By C. C. Torrey: A Theory of the Date of Mark's Gospel

A suggestion made by Professor Haupt in connection with the first paper of this session that the Society undertake to prepare a catalogue of the Biblical MSS. in America was discussed and referred to the Council.

Tuesday Afternoon, December 30. The Society reassembled at 2 o'clock. The following memorial resolutions prepared by the committee appointed for the purpose were read and adopted:

"It is with deep regret that our Society must record the deaths of four of our members of which information has been received during the past year.

"The death of Bernhard Weiss, Professor and Doctor of Theology at Berlin University, reminds those of our number whose special interests are in the New Testament of the lasting obligations which our American scholarship is under to German scholarship and which the unhappy divisions of the past five years should not be permitted to efface. Born in Leipzig in 1827 Professor Weiss's long career at Königsberg, Kiel, and Berlin reflects the critical movement in New Testament research at every angle. His Einleitung in das Neue Testament, his Leben

Jesu, and his reworking of the famous Meyer commentaries were for many of us the gateways into the freedom of modern New Testament study and we are glad at this time to pay our tribute to one whose honorable place in New Testament is so thoroughly secure.

"In the death of Professor Crawford Howell Toy American scholarship and in particular Old Testament study has lost one of its most distinguished and best loved representatives. Born at Norfolk, Va., in 1836, Professor Toy espoused the cause of the Southern Confederacy at the age of twenty-five. He fought at Gettysburg and was taken prisoner shortly afterward. After the war he became Professor of Old Testament Interpretation at the Southern Baptist Theological Seminary, first at Greenville, N. C., and afterward at Louisville, Ky. During his ten years connection with this institution he was engaged in the war for theological freedom, in which he fought as bravely as in the Civil War, and was compelled to pay the fine of adherence to his slowly won convictions which so many of our older members have had to pay—by severing his connections with the institution which he was serving. After what practically meant his dismissal, he became for a time connected with the Independent but was soon called to the chair of Hebrew and Oriental Languages in Harvard University which he occupied with much distinction during the remainder of his life. It was he who really laid the foundation of the Department of Semitic Languages and Literatures in Harvard. His ripest work is his Commentary on Proverbs and his critical edition and translation of Ezekiel, both in Professor Haupt's series. For a fuller appraisal of the great debt which Old Testament study is under to Professor Toy your committee would call attention to Professor George F. Moore's appreciation of his colleague in the American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literatures, October 1919.

"Dr. J. F. Riggs was born in Smyrna in 1852, the son of the famous missionary, Elias Riggs. He passed his boyhood in Constantinople, but spent his working life in this country. He held pastorates at Cranford, Bergen Point and East Orange, N. J., and was professor of New Testament Greek at the Theological Seminary at New Brunswick, N. J., from 1892 to '98. He died

Jan. 4, 1918. His life was the quiet but useful life which modestly builds itself into the thoughtful and religiously responsible citizenship of our country.

"Professor J. F. Genung was born in 1850. He graduated from Rochester University in 1875 and after a brief pastorate he studied under Franz Delitzsch in Leipzig. He became instructor and afterwards professor of English Literature at Amherst College where he lived and worked till October of the present year. He was especially interested in the literary study of the Bible, and all of us are indebted to his fine insight into the artistic and spiritual beauty of Biblical Literature.

"The life and work of these our colleagues will remain an inheritance of sound scholarship, mental integrity and upright living in which our Society can gratefully claim a share."

The following resolution of thanks was adopted and Professor Bewer was asked to convey it to the President of Union Theological Seminary.

"The Society of Biblical Literature, entering upon its fortieth year of growth, feels a special sense of appropriateness in meeting at Union Theological Seminary under whose guiding influence the Society originally was born. The Society hereby expresses its deep gratitude for the generous hospitality which surrounds it at this time. The Society's sense of indebtedness to the profound scholarship of the Seminary during these forty years is equalled only by the vividness of its present sense of indebtedness for many personal kindnesses as well as for the hearty welcome accorded to the Society".

The nominating committee introduced the following nominations which were approved and the chairman of the committee was instructed to cast a ballot electing them to office for the year.

Prof. A. T. Clay	*President*
Prof. Kemper Fullerton	*Vice-President*
Dr. H. J. Cadbury	*Recording Secretary*
Prof. George Dahl	*Treasurer*
Prof. W. J. Moulton Prof. J. H. Ropes Prof. J. D. Prince Prof. E. J. Goodspeed Prof. I. F. Wood	*Associates in Council*

Prof. H. Hyvernat
Miss M. I. Hussey
Prof. N. Schmidt } *Jerusalem School*

The Council reported through the Recording Secretary. The Society accepted a resolution introduced by the Council authorizing the latter to raise the dues in 1920 and following years from $3.00 to $5.00 provided that the postal card vote of the whole membership seems to them to justify the change. The Council was authorized to abolish the initiation fee if it seems to them wise to do so. Names of new members suggested to the council and approved by them were approved by the Society and the persons named elected to membership. The appointment of a committee to consider the cataloguing of MSS. as suggested by the Council was approved.

The auditing committee having brought in a satisfactory report the Treasurer's report was accepted and ordered filed. Professor Fullerton, one of the Society's representatives on the managing committee of the Jerusalem School, gave an oral report of the condition of that institution.

Papers were read and discussed as follows:

By M. L. Margolis: The Upshot of a Prolonged Study of the Greek Joshua
By G. R. Berry: The Code Found in the Temple
By Kemper Fullerton: Did David conquer Damascus?
By J. A. Bewer: An Appreciation of A. B. Ehrlich's Work
By G. A. Barton: A Babylonian Jacob's Ladder

Professor Haupt gave brief summaries of his three papers on The Messenger in Malachi, The Meaning of Michtam, Cuneiform Parallels to the Passion of Christ. Adjourned at 5.15 p. m.

Henry J. Cadbury, Recording Secretary

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[1] This list has been corrected up to Dec. 1, 1920 Members are requested to notify the Recording Secretary, H. J. Cadbury, 1075 Massachusetts Ave., Cambridge 38, Mass., of any change of address.

[2] The two numbers prefixed to the name of each member indicate the order and date of his accession to membership in the Society.

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Journal of Theological Studies,	London, England.
Journal of Transactions of the Victoria Institute,	London, England.
Nieuw Theologisch Tijdschrift,	Amsterdam, Holland.
Review and Expositor (So. Bapt.),	Louisville, Ky.
Revue Biblique Internationale, 90 Rue Bonaparte,	Paris, France.
Zeitschrift für alttestamentliche Wissenschaft.	Giessen, Germany

CONSTITUTION AND BY-LAWS

OF THE

SOCIETY OF BIBLICAL LITERATURE AND EXEGESIS

(As Amended Dec. 28, 1901)

CONSTITUTION

I

This association shall be called "The Society of Biblical Literature and Exegesis."

II

The object of the Society shall be to stimulate the critical study of the Scriptures by presenting, discussing, and publishing original papers on Biblical topics.

III

The officers of the Society shall be a President, a Vice-President, a Recording Secretary, a Corresponding Secretary, and a Treasurer, who, with five others, shall be united in a Council. These shall be elected annually by the Society, with the exception of the Corresponding Secretary, who shall be elected annually by the Council. Additional members of the Council shall be the Presidents of the Sections hereinafter provided for. There shall be also a Publishing Committee, consisting of the Corresponding Secretary and two others, who shall be annually chosen by the Council.

IV

Members shall be elected by the Society upon the recommendation of the Council. They may be of two classes, active and honorary. Honorary members shall belong to other nationalities than that of the United States of America, and shall be especially distinguished for their attainments as Biblical scholars. The number of honorary members chosen at the first election shall be not more than ten; in any succeeding year not more than two.

V

The Society shall meet at least once a year, at such time and place as the Council may determine. On the first day of the annual meeting the President, or some other member appointed by the Council for the purpose, shall deliver an address to the Society.

VI

Sections, consisting of all the members of the Society residing in a particular locality, may be organized, with the consent of the Council

for the object stated in Article II, provided that the number of members composing any Section shall not be less than twelve. Each Section shall annually choose for itself a President, whose duty it shall be to preside over its meeting, and to take care that such papers and notes read before it as the Section may judge to be of sufficient value are transmitted promptly to the Corresponding Secretary of the Society. The Sections shall meet as often as they shall severally determine, provided that their meetings do not interfere with the meetings of the Society.

VII

This constitution may be amended by a vote of the Society, on recommendation of the Council, such amendment having been proposed at a previous meeting, and notice of the same having been sent to the members of the Society.

BY-LAWS

I

It shall be the duty of the President, or, in his absence, of the Vice-President, to preside at all the meetings of the Society; but, in the absence of both these officers, the Society may choose a presiding officer from the members present.

II

It shall be the duty of the Recording Secretary to notify the members, at least two weeks in advance, of each meeting, transmitting to them at the same time the list of papers to be presented at the meeting; to keep a record of the proceedings of such meetings; to preserve an accurate roll of the members; to make an annual report of the condition of the Society; to distribute its publications, and to do such other like things as the Council may request.

III

It shall be the duty of the Corresponding Secretary to conduct the correspondence of the Society, and in particular, to use his best efforts for the securing of suitable papers and notes to be presented to the Society at each meeting; to prepare a list of such papers, and to place it in the hands of the Recording Secretary for transmission to the members; to receive all papers and notes that shall have been presented, and lay them before the Publishing Committee.

IV

It shall be the duty of the Treasurer to take charge of all the funds of the Society, and to invest or disburse them under the direction of the Council, rendering an account of all his transactions to the Society at each annual meeting.

V

It shall be the duty of the Council to propose candidates for membership of the Society; to elect the Corresponding Secretary and the additional members of the Publishing Committee; to fix the times and places for meetings, and generally to supervise the interests of the Society.

VI

It shall be the duty of the Publishing Committee to publish the proceedings of the Society, and also to select, edit, and publish, as far as the funds of the Society will justify, such papers and notes from among those laid before them, as shall in their judgment be fitted to promote Biblical science.

VII

The fee for admission into the Society shall be five dollars, besides which each member shall annually pay a tax of three dollars; but libraries may become members without the fee for admission, from which, also, members permanently residing abroad shall be exempt. The donation at one time, by a single person, of fifty dollars shall exempt the donor from all further payments, and no payments shall be required of honorary members.

VIII

Each member shall be entitled to receive, without additional charge one copy of each publication of the Society after his election; in addition to which, if he be a contributor to the *Journal*, he shall receive twenty-five copies of any article or articles he may have contributed.

IX

Five members of the Council, of whom not less than three shall have been elected directly by the Society, shall constitute a quorum thereof. Twelve members of the Society shall constitute a quorum thereof for the transaction of business, but a smaller number may continue in session for the purpose of hearing and discussing papers presented.

The following resolution, supplementary to the By-Laws, with reference to the price at which members may procure extra copies of the *Journal*, was adopted June 13th, 1884.

Resolved: That the Secretary be authorized to furnish to members, *for the purpose of presentation*, additional copies of any volume of the *Journal*, to the number of ten, at the rate of $1 a copy, but that the price to persons not members be the amount of the annual assessment.

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EDITED BY
MAX L. MARGOLIS
HENRY T. FOWLER CLAYTON R. BOWEN
COMMITTEE OF THE SOCIETY OF
BIBLICAL LITERATURE AND EXEGESIS

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THE PRESENT ARCHAEOLOGICAL OUTLOOK IN PALESTINE[1]

JOHN P. PETERS
UNIVERSITY OF THE SOUTH

MY work, so far as the School is concerned, consisted in gathering information which might be of use for future workers as to collections of antiquities and the provenance of antiquities, as to sites for exploration and the prospects for and from exploration at those sites.

I spent the greater part of my time in Jerusalem exploring and restudying the city in the light of later researches and investigations, and making short day trips, as far south as Hebron and as far north as Tel ʿAsur, the ancient Baal Hazor. Some places, like Bethlehem, Beit Ta'amir, Hebron, Bethel, Gibeon, Nebi Samwil Emmaus, Michmash, Wadi Fara and Anata I visited several times, studying the question of excavation possibilities, and local problems as to which my mind was not satisfied. For the same reason I made three longer trips, two by horse with Dr. Albright, one by car, carriages and train, by myself, taking advantage of local acquaintance and friendship to give me companionship and guidance, the whole covering a period of over two months. Our route on one of our trips was to Bethlehem, Frank Mountain, Hebron, Beit Jibrin, Tel Ḥesi, Gaza, Ashkelon, Ashdod, Gezer Jaffa, Caesarea, Mutesellim, Taanach, Samaria, Bethel, Ramallah, and so back to Jerusalem.

[1] Professor Peters was Lecturer in the American School of Oriental Research in Jerusalem in the academic year 1919—20, and the present paper is in the nature of a Report.

On the other it was to Mar Saba, Dead Sea, Jericho and Jordan; up the Jordan valley to the other Wadi Fara and so to Shechem, thence to Shiloh, Taiyibeh, Bethel, Michmash, Geba and Anata to Jerusalem. My last trip included another visit to Samaria, with stays of several days in Nablus, Nazareth and Tiberias for the purpose of studying those localities once more in view of new knowledge and with the assistance and guidance of native friends.

These expeditions and researches impressed me forcibly with the potentialities of excavation in the Holy Land. I came to realize as never before the great number of sites. In many places, absolutely undentified, especially on the tops of hills, the rock surface is covered with débris of old inhabitants often to a considerable depth. Beneath every inhabited town, like Nablus, Gaza, Nazareth, Hebron, but above all Jerusalem, there lies an almost incredible mass of remains, as revealed by excavations for foundations, wells &c., quite concealing in many places the original topography. Even in the open country excavation almost anywhere is apt to reveal remains of antiquity. Rock cuttings of the most surprising character meet one everywhere, conduits, cisterns, tombs, caves. The objects brought from these in latter years as a result of illicit digging have been very numerous. The number of such places quite unexplored must be enormous.

It is true that official excavations have not heretofore been as productive in results as had been hoped for. There have been no such great finds as in Egypt, Babylonia and Assyria, Crete, Greece and Asia Minor, and especially there has been a lack of inscribed objects and of material of all sorts from that Hebrew period in which most of us are chiefly interested. There seems little likelihood that we shall ever find great works of art or architecture in Palestine from any period, least of all the Hebrew, nor such a wealth of inscribed material as Egypt, Babylonia, Assyria, and of late Asia Minor have furnished; but in estimating the results of excavations in Palestine, it must be remembered that few sites of prime importance have as yet been touched, and that no site has been thoroughly explored. Samaria and Marissa were abandoned just as the most promising areas

were reached. The same is true of Ophel, Mutesellim and Tel Ḥesi, and Tel es Ṣafi and The Shephelah sites were scarcely more than begun. The most complete excavations heretofore conducted are those at Jericho, Taanach and Gezer, but even those were very partial, and at Gezer especially some of the most promising looking parts of the mound were perforce left untouched.

The tendency in the past has been to select small and relatively unimportant sites, lying on the outskirts of the Hebrew lands, which could be excavated at small expense, because the funds at disposal were small. This is a bad policy. Great interest in such excavations cannot be aroused, the results are almost sure to be disappointing to the average man, and the whole effect is to discourage the public on whom we must depend for support. What we need in future excavations is a venture of faith.

The site above all others which should be undertaken at the present moment is Ophel. The entire eastern hill of Jerusalem from the wall of the Haram enclosure southward, — ancient Jerusalem, Zion, David's city, and still before his time the city of the Jebusites, — lies practically vacant to-day. Now is the time to explore it; if the occasion is not seized quickly the opportunity will pass forever. Silwan is spreading across the valley. Already the Mukhtar has built a house above ʿAin Sitti Miriam, northward of that there is a small mill, and other buildings are following; but for the present almost the entire hill is vacant, beds of cabbage, cauliflowers and the like. Little of it has been explored. The latest work was that done shortly before the war by Capt. Parker at and about ʿAin Sitti Miriam, and from that northward to the wall of the Haram Enclosure; and by Weil, for Jewish interests, immediately southward. The former worked almost entirely underground, by shafts and tunnels, the greater part of which are still intact, although some were robbed of their wood during the war. The latter removed the earth down to the rock, and his excavations remain as he left them, exposing a complex of rock cuttings and walls which enable one to visualize the general character of ancient Jerusalem from 3000 BC. and onward.

Both of these excavations are shrouded in mystery. They seem to have been motivated by the supposed discovery of a cryptogram in the book of Ezekiel designating the place of concealment of the Ark and the Temple Treasure at the time of the destruction of Jerusalem by Nebuchadrezzar. Word of this supposed cryptogram was floating about Palestine in the early years of this century, as in the hands of certain persons of Scandinavian origin who had it for sale. A little later it was the basis of a novel published in England (*Treasure of Israel*, by W^{m} Le Quarry; Eveleigh Nash, Hawside House, London), which described a struggle for its possession and exploitation between anti-Semites, who desired to destroy Israel's ancient palladium and commercialize its sacred treasure, and lovers of Zion who sought to regain and restore the ancient holy things. According to this novel both contending parties were backed by powerful interests and large resources. The whole reads like a description before the event of the rival excavations in Ophel of Parker on the one hand, and Weil on the other, where, according to all accounts, money flowed like water and extraordinary means were used to influence Turkish officialdom at Constantinople and Jerusalem, and even to suborn the Moslem guardians of the Haram esh-sherif. Whatever lay behind these very unusual excavations of a part of the eastern side of Zion (Ophel) they throw much welcome light on several questions of the site and early history of David's city. But, as stated, these excavations touched only a small part of the eastern side of the hill of Ophel. By far the greater part of the hill remains entirely unexplored, and free for exploration.

The same is true also of the eastern part of the western hill, the modern Zion. A small part of this was excavated shortly before the war by Père Germer Durand and the Assumptionists in a very modest way, giving us a cross cut of Jerusalem history from the time when this region was the city of tombs for ancient Jerusalem (cf. "the valley of Weeping", Ps. 84 6) onward into the Byzantine period, and even beyond. Especially have the excavations thrown light on the localities of Jesus' story. It is the objects excavated here which particularly give value to the museum in the Assumptionist hospice, "Notre Dame de France".

The most important site to excavate in all Palestine is old Jerusalem south of the present city walls; primarily the eastern hill, the ancient city, which at present lies vacant, and is as yet almost untouched by excavation; secondarily the eastern side of the western hill, which also lies vacant, and only a small part of which has been explored. This is possible at the present time because this region is as yet unbuilt and has been unbuilt for the greater part of the time since the city was destroyed by Titus, a condition full of promise for the explorer.

The second site in importance is Samaria. I revisited this site three times in all, and continually its importance grew on me. Very little of it has been excavated, but the promise of those excavations is great, as has been set forth by Lyon and Reisner in the Harvard Theological Review (1909—11). The necropolis has never been found, and I noticed in the Jerusalem collections no objects from illicit digging at or about Sebastie.

Next to these two sites, I think that Gibeon (Jib) appeals to me as the most promising and practicable. I need hardly call attention to its evident great importance in the early period, both Hebrew and Canaanite, as recorded in the Bible. The Hebrews found it the head of an important confederate kingdom, and Solomon evidently came near making it instead of Jerusalem his capital, and the site of his temple. It occupies a strategical position, commanding the great road up from the coast plain by Beth-Horon pass, on to Bethel, down to Jericho. It is set in the midst of a fertile plain, about five miles from Jerusalem, ringed by hills, most prominent of which is Nebi Samwil on the south east. In the plain about a half a mile to the west, close to the Beth-Horon road, is a fine well of the same ancient type as Jacob's well at Shechem and the wells at Beersheba. A peculiarity of this well is a conduit entering it on the west side, below high water level, from a point some hundreds of feet away. There is a similar ancient well, only larger, at the village of Nebala, just around the hills to the east. Indeed this village is called Bir Nebala, well of Nebala.

The town of Gibeon itself is situated on a fairly high, absolutely isolated hill, rising in a series of rock terraces out of the very middle of the plain. This hill has two summits,

connected by a narrower and somewhat lower neck of rock. The modern village lies on the smaller, northern summit. On the flat southern summit, which is at least twice as large as the other, there are no buildings of any sort, but only fields and orchards. The débris over the surface of this summit seemed to average twenty to thirty feet in depth. The most productive fields and orchards, however, lie not on the summit of the hill, but on the well watered lower terraces, and the plain beneath. These have a great reputation for fertility, and it is on Gibeon that Jerusalem especially relies for its supply of tomatoes, while the wheat which I saw on the plain about the great western well seemed to me the heaviest eared that I saw in Palestine. There are interesting rock cuttings on the northern hill and the rock neck connecting the two summits, but the most important are about the larger southern hill, in and at the foot of the highest of its rock terraces, some two thirds or three quarters of the way up to the top. The rock of this terrace averages perhaps twelve feet in height and in not a few places it is quite sheer. At a number of points about the foot of this terrace water oozes out, and at various places there are rock cuttings for the collection and control of this water. Two of these take the form of caves cut into the face of the cliff, with spring and pool within. The larger and more important of these, which constitutes the fountain and cistern of present day Jib, is near the northern end of the eastern face of the southern hill. I had visited this pool a number of times, but it had never occured to me to explore it. Shortly before my departure Mr. Lars Lind of the American Colony told me that he had visited it with a German archaeologist, and by tactual examination and flash light found that the cave was an artificial one, some thirty or forty feet in depth, broadening out in the interior, and that at the further end were steps apparently leading into a rock cut passage which was now closed up; and he showed me a flash light photograph exhibiting the steps. I went out with him and verified these facts with a flashlight from within the opening of the cave, but supposing others had examined all that could be examined I did not enter the pool, which was very cold and forbidding. However my conscience reproached me so severely

for duty undone, that on the day but one before leaving Jerusalem I again visited it with Mr. Lind and swam across the pool to the steps. (As I learned on my return I could walk, the water only coming up to my chin; but when we walked we sank a foot or two in an ooze of soft mud, and the water became so riled that the women of Jib made vigorous protest against our operations.) Climbing the steps I found that the wall which had been built above them did not entirely bar the passage, and passing around the wall to the right I found myself in a rock cut tunnel sloping upward. Mr. Lind then joined me and we went up this tunnel to the end, a distance, I should say, of two hundred feet, with a rise of seventy five feet. It averaged about seven or eight feet in breadth with a height varying from fifteen to forty feet. For the most part it was cut through solid rock, but in one section, where it was highest, there was a roof of slabs. Partly the ascent was by a slope, partly by steps, but the whole was so deeply covered by earth seepings and bat droppings that it was not always possible to determine which was which. The opening at the top, which was of course blocked up and covered by many feet of débris, lay well in the interior of the town. Just above the steps, close to the pool, there was another, apparently more ancient, perpendicular shaft, now filled up, reminding one of the different shafts, representing different periods, by which the water of the Virgin Spring was rendered accessible to the ancient inhabitants of Jerusalem. We found no sherds or other objects in the tunnel, any such being presumably buried beneath the deep deposit of dung and dirt. We saw no markings on the walls other than occasional niches to hold lights. The opening to the pool from without, into which one now descends from the road leading up to the town, was in ancient times walled up, and the rock was recessed on both sides within to receive the ends of the great stones which formed this wall. The excess of water was carried out by a rock cut channel beneath and to one side of the wall.[2]

2 Unfortunately we did not go properly prepared to obtain accurate records and photographs. I was taking steps to remedy this deficiency when on the following day Pères Lagrange and Vincent told me that they had discovered and explored the tunnel some years before, taken measure-

By comparison with the similar rock cuttings which gave access from within to springs of water at Jerusalem and Gezer I should suppose that this water system at Gibeon was pre-Israelite, and presumably very ancient. In those old days, when Gibeon was provided with an abundant supply of water within its walls from this rock cut pool and spring beneath the town, so strongly protected against enemy entrance from without, it must have been an almost impregnable fortress.

On the slopes of the southern mound and the plain below are found abundant palaeolithic implements, suggesting extremely early occupation of the site. There has been, apparently, no illicit digging in this region, no caves and no tombs have been dug out and rifled, facts of great promise for the discovery of objects by excavation, for which one must always rely largely on the discovery of graves. Also there is no evidence on this mound of later buildings or a radical reconstruction in the Roman or Christian periods, another favorable omen.

The importance of Shechem and its neighborhood in the political and more especially the religious development of Israel has been strangely overlooked. The great part it played in the pre-Israelitic and early Israelitic periods is testified to by the narratives of Deuteronomy, Joshua, Judges and First Kings, and archaeologically by the traditional memorials of that period which abound thereabouts, such as the well of Jacob, the tombs of Joseph, Joshua, Phinehas and Eleazar, with other worthies of the conquest, and by the persistence of the sanctity of Gerizim and the Samaritan cult maintained there to this day.[3] Its archaeological importance has been similarly overlooked, and no excavations were conducted there until 1914. At that time there was found by accident a brick built tomb, near the tomb of Joseph, from which were taken among other things armor and weapons of bronze beautifully inlaid with precious

ments and made drawings, and published the same in La Revue Biblique. Vincent also mentions it in his *Jerusalem*, and Barton in *Archaeology and the Bible*, but in both cases without descriptive text.

[3] Dr. Montgomery in his *Samaritans*, p. 19, calls attention to the mention of Shechem in the Amarna Tablets and in the Travels of a Mohar, as also in the Abraham Legend.

metal, and a truncheon or governor's sceptre of the same, all of Egyptian workmanship of the period of the 18th. dynasty. Apparently this was the grave of an Egyptian governor or resident, of about the 15th. Century. These objects, of which I have been able thus far to see only photographic reproductions, were sold in Germany, and led Sellin to undertake an excavation of the small mound lying close to Joseph's tomb at the eastern exit of the valley, at the foot of Ebal, not far from the village of Askar. He only dug about two weeks I am told. The excavations are mere scratches, and he found nothing.

This mound was apparently an ancient hold of Shechem. Incapable of circumvallation, Shechem seems to have depended for protection on holds, of which there were two, one at the broad eastern entrance of the valley, and one, which has never been explored at all, just beyond the present town of Nablus westward, at a narrow spot admirably situated to command the approach from that side. Nablus has always been an important site, and the accumulation of débris beneath the present town and stretching beyond it on either side is enormous. All excavations for construction reveal ancient remains. While I was there an interesting fragment of an old wall, apparently part of an early church, was exposed in digging a shallow drain by the road, in front of the public garden, at the western end of the town. The débris at this point I should suppose was at least thirty feet in depth. On the plain to the east, about a quarter of a mile beyond Jacob's well, the site of a large building, presumably another early church, was just marked on the surface of the ground. Along the bases of Ebal and Gerizim are numerous tombs, caves, wells, and conduits of all ages, and the mosques, chiefly old churches of the crusading period and earlier, are among the most interesting in Palestine.

The two mountains also, Ebal and Gerizim, are covered with ruins, and I should think that excavations on the latter must yield some results. Here according to Deut. 27 4 (text corrected from Samaritan) were erected at the conquest the twelve stones on which were inscribed the Law, and there was the great altar of sacrifice of unhewn stones, a reflection backward of the temple of the writer's time. This was the simon pure shrine of

Israel, which claimed to be the only true shrine; here the people gathered in great assembly; here was developed the law book of Deuteronomy, and the Prayers of David son of Jesse (51—72) were the Psalter of this shrine. The Samaritan temple which we find there in later times was the continuator of this great early sanctuary. There is no place in Palestine more distinctly and emphatically Israelite from the conquest onward than Shechem and its temple on Gerizim, and here if anywhere we may expect to find some relics of Israel's religion.

The most conspicuous ruins on the mountain at the present time are the curious artificial hill called the Windmill, on the extreme northeastern nose, overlooking Balata, separated from the mountain behind by a rock cut moat, evidently a castle or hold; and the great church of Justinian's period, in a courtyard surrounded by castle like walls and towers, with a great cistern below. Southward and westward of this lie large fields of ruins, — terraces, cisterns, wells, streets, housewalls, and various rock cuttings. Among these to the southward is the traditional site of the Samaritan Temple (the place of the annual passover is on lower ground, beneath the summit to the west) as shown to visitors; but I noticed that our guide, not one of the tricky priest folk, who are utterly unreliable, but a plain, and apparently honest man of the people, showed particular reverence not to this site, but to another, a large surface of exposed natural rock, used by the fellahin as a threshing floor, sloping westward to a cave, apparently used as a cistern. At this spot he removed the shoes from his feet, although he could not tell us why.

Another important early center of Hebrew religion and Hebrew politics was Hebron. Here too the town lies in a valley, incapable of circumvallation. I fancy that Deir el-ʿArbain may represent the site of an ancient hold. That immediate region deserves careful investigation, as does also the mysterious Haram Ramet el Khalil, the great enclosure of huge, beautifully jointed stones, with a cistern within, northward of the town. This seems to have been the traditional site of Abraham's encampment. Perhaps when Herod built the noble monument over the cave of Machpelah he undertook also to enclose this other sacred spot as a great Khan. It needs investigation, as do also the

interesting rock cuttings and water conduits about Hebron. Like Nablus the town rests on an immense mass of débris, and in both places it is desirable through some one on the spot to watch carefully and continually all diggings of any sort for foundations or whatever else. For the present the fanaticism of Hebron seems to have disappeared, at least so far as Christians are concerned, and one may go anywhere in the Haram, the mosque and courts above the Cave of Machpelah; the cave itself, however, we might not enter, but only look down into from above.

As to the other great sacred sites of Israel, Dan, Bethel and Shiloh, I was not able owing to the unsettled condition of the country to visit the first named. From my former visits, however, I should say that Tel Ḳadi is both a promising and so far as size is concerned a very easy site to excavate. All indications are that it was the site of The Temple of Dan, whose old liturgies have come down to us in The Psalms of the sons of Ḳoraḥ. It was presumably an out of door nature shrine at the great source of the Jordan, and we are scarcely likely to find there remains of large buildings, like Solomon's temple at Jerusalem.

The same is true of Bethel, where the real sanctuary was apparently the great natural memorial stones, known as the Pillars (or Pillar) of Jacob.[4] During the war the British drove a road through this stone field and broke up the pillars to make road beds, thus destroying one of the great ancient monuments. There are no evident very old ruins here and no *tel* of any sort, but there are in the immediate neighborhood some interesting rock cuttings. In view of the great part which Bethel plays in the story of the Hebrew religion this whole region should be most thoroughly explored. A few objects from this section appear in the collections in Jerusalem, but apparently illicit diggers have not found the tombs for which Bethel was famous in the Hebrew period (cf. Jud. 2 5; II Kings 23 15 ff.), some of which at least seem still to await discovery.

[4] See my article *The Two Great Nature Shrines of Israel*, in the volume entitled *Studies in the History of Religions*, presented to Prof. Crawford H. Toy.

Illicit digging, to judge from the collections at Jerusalem, seems to have been more successful and extensive to the east of Bethel, especially at Samieh, and to the north as far as Shiloh. It would seem, however, from all appearances that there must still be not a few undiscovered tombs about the latter place from which we may hope for objects. The ruins above ground at that site are of little promise.

Between Bethel and Shiloh I visited Tel ʿAsur, the highest point in Palestine south of Marun er Ras in Northern Galilee. This was the Ba'al Hazor where Absalom gave his sheep-shearing party. The old sanctity implied in the name Baal Hazor lingers on to this day in a sacred grove, in which no native will cut a tree, or even remove a fallen branch for fire-wood. During the war the Turks, who seem to have delighted in the violation of native prejudices, cut some branches, which still lie untouched on the ground, in spite of the very great scarcity of fire wood and the high prices paid for the same.

It is from the ancient centers of Israel's life and religion, Jerusalem, Samaria, Gibeon, Shechem, Hebron, Bethel, Shiloh and Dan that we must especially look for light on the Hebrew period. Possibly to these we should add Beersheba, which I was not able to visit this time; but from my former investigation of the site and from all that has come from there since, I am afraid that we shall find only later remains.

Of secondary value for the Hebrew period, but important, are the partially explored sites of Megiddo (Mutesellim, including Lejjun), Tel Ḥesi (Lachish), and above all Marissa. The discovery of the lion seal of Jeroboam's vizier or similar high official at Mutesellim, in spite of the otherwise disappointing results is suggestive of more important finds, for it must be remembered that the part of the ruins excavated was relatively very small, and Lejjun was not even touched. So it was also with Tel Ḥesi, where much less than one fourth of the area of the main mound was excavated, and no effort made to locate the necropolis or explore the surrounding region. In the case of Marissa a part of the Seleucidan city was excavated, with very interesting results; the older, supposedly Hebrew city beneath, was reached at one point and then the excavations

stopped. Later the natives discovered a necropolis, including the tombs of the chiefs of the Sidonian colony settled there in the Seleucidan period (the *Painted Tombs*). From that day to this glass, pottery and other objects from Beit Jibrin, the glass especially better than is found anywhere else in Palestine, have been continually on the market. Clearly illicit diggers have found that neighborhood an unusually rich one, an intimation of the importance of the city sites at that point; for indeed Marissa–Sandahamna–Beit Jibrin was at all periods a point of great importance, situated as it was on the cross roads north–south–east–west. I regret to report that the *Painted Tombs* have been ruined, the same is true of the finest of the great bell–vaulted caverns, Arak el. Ma, nor could we move the British authorities to do anything for their protection.

Gezer has been more fully explored than any of the sites above named and what remains, although promising looking in itself, is probably unavailable because of the *weli*, graveyard and farmhouse by which it is occupied. Taanach has proved important for the Canaanite period, but although not scientifically explored it has been so dug over that I am inclined to think further excavation scarcely desirable, at least until many other more promising sites have been disposed of. More important by far for the Canaanite religion, I should say, is Kedesh of Galilee, a site which attracted me greatly on a former visit, but which I was not able to reach this time.[5]

For the New Testament period, besides Jerusalem, naturally Capernaum with its neighborhood, and Nazareth are the most important regions. Capernaum has been partly explored by the Franciscans, and a most interesting synagogue laid bare. This work should be completed, and the whole northern shore of the lake, including Chorazin, where another fine synagogue exists, Bethsaida, and the plain of Gennesaret trenched and examined. Probably such exploration would do little more than determine the sites of the towns of the New Testament record, as to none of which is there actual certainly at present, but this would be in itself a sufficiently valuable result.

[5] I have omitted all mention of trans-Jordanic sites, because of the present unavailability of that region.

My stay in Nazareth showed me how little I really knew of the situation and characteristic features of the town of Jesus' time in spite of my numerous former visits. Ancient Nazareth is largely buried under heaps of débris which have changed the surface appearance much as in Jerusalem by filling up the valleys. Few realize that Mary's well is not on the spot where Mary the mother of Jesus drew water. The original spring is in a cave, now buried under débris, some two or three hundred feet away, and the water is piped underground to the present place of drawing. All excavations for buildings reveal old remains, but unfortunately all of these have not been properly examined, and many of them are not recorded. The most interesting of those which I saw are under and about the Church of The Annunciation and the Monastery connected with it, and the neighboring convent of the sisters of St. Joseph. At the latter place are some very curious caves, which have evidently a long history behind them. One of them seems at some time to have served as a secret Christian chapel. Here, as at Nablus and Hebron, arrangements should be made with local authorities and individuals to follow carefully all excavations made for construction or other purposes, as the only practicable method of exploring the original site.

For the Herodian period, besides Jerusalem, Samaria, Hebron and Caesarea, which last is certainly worthy of extensive excavation some time, results may be obtained from Jericho and the Jordan valley,[6] especially the striking artificial hill called Ḳarn Ṣarṭabeh. I am more inclined, however, to look toward Frank Mountain, Herod's marvelous artificial construction, southeast of Bethlehem, a sort of pyramid erected on a hill to constitute his fortress tomb, with a great basin at the foot, supplied with water from Solomon's pools, and buildings of some sort by the basin. Near this also, at Beit Ta'amir, are some caves which should be excavated for remains probably of natives of the stone age, as Prof. Moulton pointed out in Vol. I of the Annual of *The American School*.[7] Not far from this again is

[6] Beisan I fancy will yield only Decapolis material from the early post-Christian centuries.

[7] I regret that I can not agree with him in regard to the stone with

the "Cave of Adullam" (Maghâret Khareitun), which with its surroundings seems to me to merit more careful investigation than it has received. On the narrow and perilous road along the cliff leading to the mouth we found *tesserae*, indications of a late and somewhat elaborate inhabitation, perhaps something like Mar Saba. These might have belonged to the period of St. Chariton's occupancy. The cave itself was almost certainly used as a dwelling in the stone age, and it is desirable to pick up and explore the floors of such caves to ascertain whether they do not consist of a sort of breccia containing or concealing beneath them palaeolithic remains, as proved to be the case in a cave explored just before the war at Dog River, by Beirout.

For the study of the Philistines it has seemed to me that the mounds of Ashdod and Gaza hold out the greatest promise. At Ashdod there is a large *tel* above the present village, absolutely free of buildings, and for the most part without trees. The depth of débris on this mound is very considerable, and yet on the surface we picked up pottery fragments of pre-exilic date. The mound is readily accessible, and lies in a region where labor is relatively skilled and abundant.

In the October (1920) number of The Palestine Exploration Fund Quarterly Prof. Garstang has described "a series of soundings which had been made in the foot of the northern escarpment of the mound upon which the modern city [of Gaza] is situated". Two walls are there exposed, the later of which Père Vincent dates by the evidence of potsherds between the fifth and seventh centuries B. C. On the evidence of these walls Prof. Garstang concludes that the "historical fenced city of antiquity was located here." We also were shown these soundings by Maj. Mills, governor of Gaza, but part of them, specifically the later of the two walls, had been known to me since 1890. The summer of that year I spent in Palestine on my way back from Nippur, visiting among other places Gaza.

cup markings which he found there. After a careful examination of the stone and its surroundings, including a number of other cups, some of unusual size, one big enough to sit in, we reached the conclusion that the formation was due to nature, and that there were no evidences of use for cult purposes.

There The Missionary Physician of the C. M. S. took me to call on the Sheikh of Jâmi' es-Saiyid-Hâshim, an hereditary endowment occupying a large space on a hill on the northern edge of Gaza. Wandering around the grounds with the Sheikh we came to a point on the edge of the hill where there had been a landslide. The hill at that point looked like the side of Tel Ḥesi after Petrie's excavations, which were merely a scraping down of the steep side of that mound from top to bottom. (I had visited that site, be it said, the day before.) My eye caught sight of a mud brick wall at the bottom of the slide, and in my excitement I precipitated myself down the bank, with small regard to courtesy, to examine the wall. The result of this examination of the wall and the strata above it was to convince me that the entire hill was a ruin mound, that the wall was ancient, certainly as old as the Israelite period, and that this, and not some site on the coast three miles away, as contended by Schürer and others, was the site of ancient Philistine Gaza. I published this conclusion in *Nippur* (Vol. II, 356). The prospects of important discoveries here seemed to me so promising that I endeavored without success to have soundings made, such as Maj. Mills has conducted, and also commended the same to Dr. Bliss when he was excavating Tel Ḥesi. I then ranked this mound next after Samaria in promise. It is, I should think, very practicable for excavation. It is free from buildings, except for the Jâmi', which itself occupies little space, and is extremely accessible, in a good labor market. Gaza, however, two thirds of which was destroyed during the war, is rapidly rebuilding, and the site should be pre-empted now before a possible occupation for building purposes. I scarcely think that much of Hebrew antiquities would be found in either Gaza or Ashdod, but excavations in one or both of these sites would, it seems to me likely, go far toward a final solution of the Philistine problem.

Ashkelon, which Prof. Garstang has chosen for his excavations, seems to me less likely to accomplish this. The ruins it is true are among the most striking and the most extensive in all Palestine, but from such examination as I was able to give them on my three visits they seemed to me to represent, not the

earlier Philistine settlement, but the great cities which we know existed on that site in later times. Indeed Père Gatt of Gaza, who knows more about the Philistine country than any one I met, suggested to me that the original Ashkelon of the Philistines was really represented by the modern Mejdel, inland across the dunes from Ashkelon, in the same relative position to the sea as Gaza and Ashdod. His idea was that the original Philistine cities did not lie immediately on the coast, but across the dunes on the fertile plain, a theory borne out incidentally by the position of Dejan, evidently an ancient Dagan, or Beth Dagan, on the plain just back of Jaffa. It is true that Mr. Herbert Clark of Jerusalem has in his collection a beautiful double battle axe or two, of Cretan appearance, said to have come from tombs at Ashkelon, but from all that could be learned of their exact provenance I should say this meant no more than that general locality, and might apply to Mejdel as well as to Ashkelon itself. However, Prof. Garstang's excavations, it is to be hoped, will soon give us real light on the whole question.

In connection with Philistia one thinks also of Gath. The generally accepted site of Gath is es-Ṣafi, where Bliss excavated and found nothing. His excavations were conducted at vacant spots within the village on the very crest of the ridge. The hill is a large one, a very insignificant part of which has been trenched. It certainly must have been an important town fortress in antiquity, as it was in the crusading period, and I am still hopeful that more extensive exploration may result in the discovery of matter of much value. If the site is really that of Gath excavation should throw light on the Philistine problem, especially if the excavators find the necropolis. Dr. Albright, basing his suggestion on the modern name, *es-Ṣafi, the Shining*, and the mediaeval *Blanche Garde, white keep*, evidently given because of the white bluffs of the eastern side, which constitute a widely seen landmark, proposed to me that this may have been the *Libnah, white*, of the Old Testament (Stanley's identification), a suggestion which commends itself to me, especially in view of the statement of Eusebius and Jerome that it was near Eleutheropolis. In that case the site would represent a Judean frontier fortress similar presumably in character and history to Lachish (Tel Ḥesi).

I have mentioned only the historically more important larger sites. There are numerous, I had almost said countless, other less known or even unidentified *tels* scattered over the whole country, some of considerable size, which have never even been scratched, and which entice the excavator. Of such I noted especially Tel el Mansura, on the edge of the Philistine plain, near the road from Beit Jibrin to Tel Ḥesi; Dothan, rising fortress like, with a spring at its foot, by a great caravan route, in a fertile plain of Samaria; and Tel Miriam, a most symmetrical and attractive looking ruin mound, quite unidentified, lying close to Michmash.

On this visit to Palestine I was particularly impressed with the number of remains of relative importance eastward of a line drawn north and south through Hebron, Bethlehem, Jerusalem, Bethel, a region which I had hitherto regarded as unprofitable. I made a number of visits to Anata, searching for the site of Anathoth, which it seemed to me could not have been at Anata, in spite of the identity of names, because of the lack of débris or other evidences of old occupation. In that search, on a nose of the mountain about three fourths of a mile eastward, we found a real *tel* without any real name, rising above an insignificant *weli*.[8] There were interesting and extensive rock cut cisterns and caves here, and a Turkish trench cut through the edge of the *tel* during the war revealed a stratification suggesting a considerable period of occupancy.

Far below this, at a broad spot in the wadi Fara, are some large stone built tumuli[9] over one hundred feet in length, and near by a sacred spot guarded by erect stones with a dolmen within. Clearly these monuments mark the site of some great battles. Apparently the *tumuli* were the common tombs of the soldiers slain, while the dolmen marked the separate tomb of a great chief. This was the conclusion Mr. Lind and I reached. The following day Pères Lagrange and Vincent told me that they had visited the place long ago, reached the same conclusion and published somewhere a brief notice. They further suggested to me as one of the crying and immediate needs of Palestinian

[8] Deir es Sidd of the Survey?

[9] Kabûr el beni Israim of the Survey.

archaeology a corpus or index of Palestinian discoveries, that the explorer may be able without infinite search through a vast number of generally unindexed periodicals, and fugitive publications, as well as legions of books, to ascertain what has already been discovered and described, and what has been done or is now known about the same, so that energy may be economized and more profitably directed toward achievement. I commend this work to some of our scholars or fellows.

The *tumuli* above described should certainly be fully explored. Such work as this, or the excavation and thoro study of the great monuments of the Kidron valley, the so called tombs of Absalom, St. James and Zechariah, as also some of the more important tombs in the neighborhood of the Tomb of The Judges, could be done at a very small expense relatively, and might well be undertaken in interim moments (such as the present). In the matter of the tombs it is very necessary that they should be explored before further and irreparable damage be done; and that they should be made accessible to the public and put under proper guard. Always also the floors of tombs should be carefully sounded. Even if nothing should be found as the result of such work, the preservation of the tombs would be well worth the cost of the excavations, and would further place our school in a most favorable light in Jerusalem, and with the authorities.

In Jerusalem I examined all the collections of antiquities, much more numerous and more important than at the time of my last visit. These are first the collection of The Augustinians (Assumptionists) at Notre Dame de France, made by the late Père Germer Durand, partly the result of his excavations on the southeastern slope of the western hill. This collection is arranged according to periods, and contains considerable good material; but to be made thoroughly useful there is need of a printed guide. The small collection of the White Brothers at St. Anne is admirably arranged for introducing the intelligent Bible reader to Bible archaeology. The various objects are ticketed with a brief description and a reference to Bible texts. It is in fact a Biblical museum for high school and college students. Much the largest collection is that at the Dormition, made by the German Benedictines. They seem to have had

considerable money at their disposal, and bought right and left before the war. Materially also this museum is better equipped, as with proper show cases, than any other. It had only begun to be catalogued when the war broke out, at the close of which the Pope placed temporarily in charge Belgian Benedictines, most kindly and willing men, who profess, however, no knowledge of archaeology in any branch. Almost nothing in this collection has been studied, and less published. Most of the material is virgin. There are a number of forgeries which need to be eliminated, noticeably in the collections of lamps and coins. I had hoped to make some sort of study of this collection with a view to determining more accurately its possibilities, and the Brothers put at my disposal for this purpose such documents as they possessed, showing the provenance of some of the larger lot-purchases of pottery. These, as I remember, came from the region about Bethlehem, especially Beit Sahur, and from villages northwest of that on the western edge of the plateau as far north as Malḥa; also from the region northward and eastward of Bethel, especially Seilun and Samieh. For the most part these seem to have been found in old caves used for burial purposes. My change of plan and departure a couple of months earlier than I had originally proposed prevented me from doing more than make the merest beginning, and Dr. Albright took over the work, so far at least as the pottery was concerned, proposing to do what his other engagements and interests would permit. Mr. Herbert Clark has a very valuable collection of stone tools, the best in Jerusalem, and also a number of admirable specimens of pottery, glass and metal, including a few Philistine double axes from the neighborhood of Ashkelon. Mr. Fr. Vester has a small collection of fine pieces of glass. No fine glass, it may be said, has been found in Palestine, except at Beit Jibrin, where a Phoenician colony was settled.[10] The fine specimens all come from Phoenicia or Syria, especially, apparently, from the Aleppo neighborhood. Mr. John D. Whiting also has an interesting small collection, especially of charms, games and

[10] Cf. the statements of Jose ben Jochanan and Simon ben Shetach that articles made of glass are defiling, *History of New Testament Times*, Mathews.

other objects which illustrate native life, customs and superstitions. Some of the other members of The American Colony, as also the Colony itself, have small collections of stone implements, pottery and lamps. Our school has a few specimens of pottery, as has the Palestine Exploration Fund, the latter being located at the Anglican Cathedral. There are a few curious objects in various Russian, Armenian and Greek buildings, and in the hands of individuals scattered in and about Jerusalem. The municipal collection of objects found in the excavations commenced by Bliss and MacAlister seems to have been dissipated or distroyed, at least I could not find it.[11] All told there are in Jerusalem enough objects, scattered through various collections and in the hands of public spirited individuals, to make a valuable, small, but reasonably complete museum of Palestinian antiquities, if they could all be brought together in one place, properly arranged and catalogued. The next best thing would be a general catalogue of all collections, none of which is at the present time so catalogued that students may have access to information regarding the objects contained therein. Whoever should prepare and print such a catalogue would render an inestimable service to the would be student of Palestine archaeology in Palestine. A somewhat similar general catalogue of the libraries in Jerusalem is also a desideratum. There are a number of small libraries, the Dominican probably the best, which, if they were so arranged or so catalogued that they might be used together, would fairly well cover the entire Palestinian field.

Researches and excavations, of the latter some for construction and others for archaeological exploration, had added greatly to the knowledge of ancient Jerusalem since my earlier visits, and I soon felt myself on much firmer ground than formerly in my study of local questions in both Old and New Testament fields. Especially I found this the case in my study of the localities of the Psalter, some of the results of which I have embodied in a volume on the Psalms now going through the press, and in various papers read before the Palestine Oriental Society

11 There were a few objects found in the Parker excavations, but three are under seal in the house of the Mukhtar of Silwan.

and the Society of Biblical Literature and Exegesis. In the New Testament I found myself able, to my own satisfaction at least, to locate as I had feared it never would be possible the localities of the great events recorded in the Gospels and in Acts. It seemed to me that the traditional site of Golgotha and the place of Jesus' burial have been satisfactorily shown to be the actual site; and that the locality of the Lord's supper and the Upper Room of the first days is now determined with a reasonable degree of accuracy. The Assumptionist excavations on the Western hill seemed to have helped greatly in determining the latter point, and enable us to follow with a considerable degree of accuracy the motions of Jesus, His followers and His persecutors on the last night. These excavations, and those of Capt. Parker and of Weil on Ophel, have likewise given much additional information on the site and character of earliest Jerusalem, and the growth and development of the city.[12]

[12] Since the above was written a letter from Dr. Albright brings the information that Garstang and Phythian-Adams had commenced excavations at Ashkelon. These excavations were in the nature of a reconnaissance to prepare for the more serious excavations to be undertaken this Spring. They lasted for seven weeks from September 1st, and were remarkably successful, especially in finds of the Roman Period. "Cuttings on the side of the central mound revealed at one point almost perfect stratification, and at about the middle of the series appeared the unmistakeable Philistine painted ware." The French Dominicans have preempted 'Ain Duḳ, in the Jordan valley, where the Mosaic with a Hebrew inscription was found during the war. The Jews under Dr. Nahum Slousch are beginning, or have begun excavations at Tiberias. The University of Pennsylvania has applied for and secured the site of Beisan, ancient Scythopolis, and the University of Chicago has secured Mutesellim, ancient Megiddo and Legio. Various accidental minor discoveries have been made: a fine basilica of the fourth century, rebuilt during crusading times, in the excavations of the Franciscans for the foundations of their new church at Gethsemane; interesting subterranean reservoirs at Solomon's pool; stone culverts of the Graeco-Roman age near Arsuf in such excellent condition "that they will be used for the modern road". All these are evidences of the amount of material buried underground, waiting for excavation. Dr. Albright also reports that the finds from Gezer and Beth Shemesh have been installed in a national museum near the English Cathedral, together with the finds from the recent excavations at Ashkelon, an important addition to the various museums and collections reported in the above paper.

ÜBER DAS ERSTE KAPITEL DES BUCHES JEREMIA

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MAN war neuerdings ziemlich einig geworden, daß sich zu Eingang des Buches Jeremia in dem Τὸ ῥῆμα τοῦ θεοῦ ὃ ἐγένετο ἐπὶ Ἱερεμίαν κτλ. eine ältere Form der Überschrift, דבר יהוה אשר היה אל ירמיהו וגו׳, erhalten habe, und daß, um sie zu vervollständigen, von V. 1, oder etwa noch ursprünglicher von 1 a, unmittelbar auf 2 aβ (בימי וגו׳) überzugehn, V. 3 aber als späterer Einschub zu streichen sei.[1] Wie daraus die Textgestalt des MT entstand, darüber mochte man verschiedene Vermutungen äußern. Nun tritt Paul Volz in seinen überaus dankenswerten „Studien zum Text des Jeremia“ 1920 S. 1 f. wieder unbedingt für MT, wie es scheint, ohne jede Ausscheidung oder Änderung, ein. „Obwohl der Satzbau in M schwerfällig ist, verdient er doch den Vorzug vor G; denn G macht durch seine Wiederholung [gemeint ist 2 a α] den Inhalt ärmer. Die Änderung in G beruht auf Absicht; G oder sein hebräischer Vorgänger wünschte den göttlichen Urheber der Prophetie voranzustellen und änderte den Urtext nach anderen geläufigen Überschriften (Hos. 1 1 usw.).“

Man darf gespannt sein, wie Volz die Anfangsworte in MT דברי ירמיהו faßt, ob „Die Worte Jeremia's“ oder „Die Geschichte

[1] Vgl. K. Budde, Die Überschrift des Buches Jeremia (Verhandlungen d. XIII. Internat. Orientalisten-Kongresses in Hamburg 1902, Sekt. V), B. Stade, Jer. c. 1 (Zeitschr. f. d. alttest. Wiss. XXIII 1903, S. 153 ff.), C. H. Cornill, Das Buch Jeremia 1905 zur Stelle.

Jeremia's, das Buch von Jeremia", wie schon Kimchi auslegt. Duhm's Liste von jeremianischen Beweisstellen für die erstere Auffassung, 36 4, 10, 27 ff. habe ich schon 1902 auf die einzige 36 10 zusammengestrichen. Dort aber ist das unmißverständliche כל דברי יהוה אשר דבר אליו in V. 4 unmittelbar vorhergegangen, so daß דברי ירמיהו in V. 10 einfach „das Diktat Jeremia's" bedeutet. Dieser einzigen, ungeeigneten Stelle hätte Cornill nicht mit Graf's Worten 26 10 hinzufügen dürfen, da er selbst dort richtig את הדברים האלה mit „diese Vorfälle" übersetzt; schon bei Graf war das ein Versehen, vgl. S. 340 „von dem Vorgefallenen (את הדברים האלה)". Es bleibt eben dabei, daß die Gottessprüche, die ein Prophet weitergibt, niemals Worte des Propheten heißen können. Unbedingt ist deshalb die Auffassung Kimchi's im Rechte, wie dasselbe auch von dem einzigen Seitenstück in der Überschrift eines Prophetenbuchs, dem דברי עמוס Am. 1 1 gilt.[2] Heißt aber die Überschrift „Die Geschichte Jeremia's", dann geht sie sicher nicht auf den Urjeremia, der nur Jahweworte überliefern wollte, sondern auf das zusammengesetzte Buch, das in den Baruchabschnitten und in der Erzählung K. 37—44 viel aufgenommen hatte, was über jene erste Abzielung hinausging. Das spricht dafür, daß es sich in MT um eine spätere Fassung der Überschrift handelt, die dieser Umgestaltung des Buches Rechnung tragen sollte.

Es fragt sich weiter, wie Volz die Worte 2 aα, אשר היה דבר יהוה אליו, faßt, ob als einfachen Relativsatz „an den das Wort Jahwes erging", oder als selbständige Überschrift nach der Formel 14 1 46 1 47 1 49 34, etwa zu übersetzen: „[Das,] was als Wort Jahwes an ihn erging." Die letztere Fassung vertritt Stade (a. a. O. S. 154), aber nicht ohne hervorzuheben, daß der Wortlaut jener Überschriften „schlechtes Hebräisch sei, nur aus redaktioneller Korrektur eines älteren Wortlautes zu erklären".[3] Ich glaube noch weiter gehn zu müssen: es ist nicht

[2] Vgl. meine Ausführungen Beihefte z. Zeitschr. f. d. Alttest. Wiss. 27 (Wellhausen-Festschrift) S. 75 ff. Auch Am. 1 1 legt schon Kimchi ebenso aus.

[3] Für diese Auffassung erklärte sich R. Smend brieflich (9. 4. 04) auf die Zusendung meiner Hamburger Mitteilung: „Du hast Grund zu allerlei Beschwerden bei der herrschenden grammatischen Auffassung

nur schlechtes, sondern gar kein Hebräisch, nicht auf redaktioneller Korrektur beruhend, sondern auf falscher Einschiebung vom Rande her. An jenen Stellen stand — ebenfalls schon redaktionell[4] — דבר יהוה אל ירמיהו, was zwar nicht vollem hebräischem Ausdruck entspricht, aber für eine Überschrift gut genug war, vgl. Mal. 1 1 דבר יהוה אל ישראל, ähnlich Sach. 9 1, 12 1, oder דבר יהוה בפי ירמיהו 2 Chr. 36 21. Eine spätere Hand ergänzte am Rande das vermißte אשר היה. Natürlich sollte das hinter יהוה eingetragen werden; der Abschreiber aber las und ließ es einfach, wo es anschloß, nämlich vor dem die Zeile beginnenden דבר, und so entstand dieses Ungeheuer von einer Überschrift.[5] An unserer Stelle vollends steht nicht אל ירמיהו sondern אליו, die Rückbeziehung ist damit vollkommen sicher gestellt und mit ihr die Auffassung als einfacher Relativsatz in durchaus richtiger und unmißverständlicher Fassung[6]: „Die Geschichte [oder „Die Worte"] Jeremia's . . . ., an welchen das Wort Jahwes erging."[7] Offenbar will dieser schleppende

von V. 2. Aber diese Auffassung ist meiner Überzeugung nach falsch. Ich übersetze: was als Wort Jahwes an ihn erging im 13. Jahre usw. Mir erscheint das nach 14 1 46 1 als vollkommen einwandfrei. Dann ist V. 2, 4 Überschrift bzw. Einleitung zu C. 1, nur V. 3 ist durch spätere Hand eingeschoben. Auf LXX möchte ich nichts geben. דברי ירמיהו V. 1 erscheint ihr gegenüber als ursprünglich".

[4] In 14 1 bietet LXX Καὶ ἐγένετο λόγος Κυρίου κτλ., eine sonst nirgends in unsrem Buche vorkommende Form der Überschrift; die übrigen Stellen werden von ihr nicht überliefert.

[5] Vgl. Gesenius-Kautzsch Grammatik 138e Fußnote 1, wo der Gebrauch nur an diesen vier Stellen als ganz eigentümlicher absoluter Gebrauch des אשר gebucht wird.

[6] Vgl. genau die gleichen Worte, diesmal von niemandem mißverstanden, 1 Kön. 18 31.

[7] Wie LXX die Worte 2 a α auffaßt, ist nicht ganz sicher auszumachen. Ihre Wiedergabe ὃς ἐγενήθη λόγος τοῦ θεοῦ πρὸς αὐτόν scheint für einen selbständigen Satz im Sinne von 14 1 zu sprechen, könnte aber auch nur sklavische Wiedergabe des hebräischen Relativsatzes sein, so daß ὃς . . . πρὸς αὐτόν für πρὸς ὅν stände. In 1 Kön. 18 31 umschreibt LXX mit ὡς ἐλάλησεν Κύριος πρὸς αὐτόν. Da Cornill auch hier, Jer. 1 2, LXX mit „wie an ihn Jahves Wort erging" übersetzt, muß er wohl auch hier ὡς und nicht ὃς gelesen haben. Vermutlich hat er nach Parsons gearbeitet, der im Texte ὡς und nicht ὃς bringt, während die Kollation in der Fußnote schließen läßt, daß in der Tat die Mehrzahl der Minuskeln ὡς lesen. Für

Relativsatz eben das ersetzen, was durch die Änderung der ersten Worte von V. 1 verloren gegangen war, und läßt deshalb, wie Stade ganz richtig feststellt, auf einen ursprünglichen Eingang דבר יהוה אשר היה אל ירמיהו selbst ohne das Zeugnis der LXX schließen. Nun aber LXX eben dies mit ihrem Τὸ ῥῆμα τοῦ θεοῦ ὃ ἐγένετο ἐπὶ Ἱερεμίαν κτλ. bringt, hat man alle Ursache, darin die ursprüngliche oder mindestens frühere Gestalt der Überschrift noch überliefert zu finden, die häufigste und einfachste Gestalt der Überschrift von Prophetenbüchern, wie sie bei Hosea, Joel, Micha, Zephanja vorliegt und für Hesekiel erschlossen werden kann. Freilich wäre bei ihr 2 a α, wie Volz richtig hervorhebt, vollkommen überflüssig, und ich habe daraus schon 1902 gefolgert, daß diese Worte in LXX aus der in MT vorliegenden Rezension erst später müssen nachgetragen sein.[8] Gegen die Ursprünglichkeit der Fassung von V. 1 in LXX selbst wurde in Hamburg bei der Besprechung das τὸ ῥῆμα τοῦ θεοῦ im Unterschied von λόγος τοῦ θεοῦ in 2 a α, λόγος Κυρίου in V. 4 und weiterhin geltend gemacht. Ich verweise demgegenüber auf 6 10: ἰδοὺ τὸ ῥῆμα Κυρίου ἐγένετο αὐτοῖς εἰς ὀνειδισμόν, wo vielleicht die ganz allgemeine Bedeutung im Gegensatz zu dem einzelnen Gotteswort ebenso zu dieser Abwechselung veranlaßt hat, wie hier „das Streben, V. 1, anders als V. 2 und 4, auf das ganze Buch zu beziehen".[9]

Aus alledem schloß ich in Hamburg: „Als ursprüngliche Gestalt der Überschrift — ich übergehe 1 b — kann man getrost herausschälen: „Das Wort Jahwes, das an Jeremia, Hilkia's

B, A, ℵ (Q=XII hat auch nach Parsons ὅς) wird aber doch Swete Glauben zu schenken sein, daß auch nicht eine einzige Hand in diesen Codices ὡς bietet. Ich halte ὡς lediglich für innergriechische Erleichterung.

[8] Damals gab ich daneben folgende andere Erklärung frei: „Oder es wurde [hinter der ursprünglichen Form von V. 1] zuerst 2 a α eingetragen, sei es als Stütze für den Zusatz V. 3, sei es, weil die Erläuterungen zu dem Namen Jeremia durch Zusätze einen derartigen Umfang angenommen hatten, daß eine Wiederaufnahme von 1 a α erwünscht erschien. Nimmt man das Letztere an, so darf man in 1 a α MT einen weiteren beabsichtigten Schritt sehen, durch den die Tautologie wieder beseitigt und zugleich V. 1 mit dem Zusatz V. 3 zu einer Überschrift für das ganze Buch erweitert wurde". Ich ziehe die oben gegebene Erklärung vor.

[9] So ich a. a. O. in einem Anhang zu meiner Mitteilung.

Sohn, erging in den Tagen Josia's des Königs von Juda, im 13. Jahre seines Königtums". Ich verband also 2 aβ b unmittelbar mit V. 1, als dazu gehörige Zeitbestimmung. Dasselbe tut Stade, weniger deutlich S. 154, ganz klar S. 155: „Auf V. 2 in der vorhin angenommenen Rekonstruktion kann nur V. 5, oder, wenn mit ihm [augenscheinlich mit 1 a, 2 aβ b] eine redaktionelle Überschrift vor die vom Verf. herrührende Überschrift V. 4 gesetzt worden ist, V. 4 folgen". Ebenso verband 2 aβ b schon die Überarbeitung, der wir den jetzigen Text, insbesondere 2 a α und V. 3 verdanken. Indessen führt das den Übelstand mit sich, daß dann Jeremia's Rede in V. 4 mit ויהי beginnt, und zwar nicht einmal mit einem formelhaften, bloß die Einführung der Erzählung bezweckenden, was ganz zu Anfang schon verdächtig genug wäre, sondern mit einem ויהי, das das Prädikat des Satzes bildet: „Und es erging das Wort Jahwes an mich". So wenig man sich bisher daran gestoßen hat — nur Stade scheint ein Gefühl dafür zu bekunden, indem er dazu neigt oder doch freigibt, V. 4 für den ursprünglichen Wortlaut einfach auszuschalten — muß ich das doch hier wie anderwärts für ganz unmöglich halten. Ich bin deshalb überzeugt, daß wir die Überschrift, in der Jeremia in der 3. Person eingeführt wird, auf V. 1 allein zu beschränken haben, und daß dann mit 2 aβ b 4 Jeremias eigene Rede beginnt: „In den Tagen Josia's des Königs von Juda, im 13. Jahre seines Königtums, da erging das Wort Jahwes an mich also lautend". Es handelt sich um die bekannte, sehr häufige Anknüpfung des Impf. cons. an Zeitbestimmungen jeder Art. Darin haben wir dann den unversehrten Anfang des Diktats Jeremia's zu erkennen, und davor wurde nun in Gestalt von V. 1 eine Überschrift gesetzt, die als solche wiederum vollständig ist. Löst sie sich los von der Fortsetzung in 2 aβ, so fällt auch der Grund fort, 1 b als spätere Vermehrung zu streichen. Daß Jeremia in Anatot zu Hause war, ersehen wir auch aus anderen Stellen des Buches; daß er Priestersohn war, erfahren wir nur hier. Wir haben nicht den geringsten Grund es zu bezweifeln; woher es aber später noch sollte gewonnen sein, ist schwer abzusehen. Den Vater Jeremia's von dem gleichzeitigen Oberpriester Josia's (1 Kön. 22 f.) deutlich zu unterscheiden, war ohnedies von

Anfang an ein dringendes Bedürfnis, wird er doch trotzdem noch oft genug mit ihm gleichgesetzt.

Diese, hier vielleicht zum ersten Male vertretene Auffassung der Eingangsverse in ihrer ursprünglichen Gestalt gewinnt noch eine starke Stütze an dem Seitenstück des Buches Jesaja. Der Überschrift Jer. 1 1 entspricht dort nach Aufbau und Umfang genau der älteste Bestand von Jes. 1 1: „Das Gesicht Jesaja's des Sohnes des Amoz". Die eigentümliche Fassung dieser Überschrift habe ich[10] daraus erklärt, daß ursprünglich auf Jes. 1 1 die einzige bei Jesaja vorkommende Vision Kap. 6 und mit ihr die ganze im Ich Jesaja's gehaltene Denkschrift Kap. 6—9 6 folgte. Ist das richtig, so schloß sich dort an die Überschrift 1 1, die Jesaja in der 3. Person einführt, unmittelbar Jesaja's eigene Erzählung K. 6 1: „Im Todesjahre des Königs Uzzia da sah ich usw." Also genau, wie wir jetzt für Jeremia hergestellt haben, die Zeitangabe als Beginn der eigenen Worte des Propheten, aufgenommen durch das Impf. cons., dort וארא, hier ויהי. Daß Jeremia den Bericht Jesaja's über seine Berufung kannte, ist aufs höchste wahrscheinlich, auch aus anderen Spuren; daß er sich an ihn der Form nach anschloß, das Natürlichste von der Welt. Ganz klar ist ferner bei Jesaja, daß sich die Überschrift חזון ישעיהו ursprünglich nur auf die einzige jesajanische Vision Kap. 6 beziehen sollte; darin liegt eine Bestätigung für die Annahme, daß auch Jer. 1 1 in der LXX-Form ursprünglich nur auf die Berufungsvision V. 5–9 abzielte. Aber ganz ebenso wie bei Jeremia durch 2 a α 3 ist dann auch bei Jesaja später, sicher erst nach Umstellung von K. 6—9 6 an die jetzige Stelle durch Jes. 1 1b, אשר חזה על[11] בימי עזיהו יותם אחז יחזקיהו מלכי יהודה und יהודה וירושלם die Erweiterung der Überschrift auf das ganze Buch vollzogen.

In dem Berufungsbericht V. 5–9 wie anderwärts ist vor allem jede Textkritik aus rein metrischen Gründen vom Übel, wie besonders Erbt und Rothstein, aber auch Cornill, sie ausgiebig üben. Die freie prophetische Rede verträgt solche

[10] Zeitschr. f. d. alttest. Wiss. XXXVIII 1920/21 S. 58.

[11] Sicher zu übersetzen „der da schaute usw.", nicht „das er schaute".

Maßstäbe nicht; wo bei den Propheten eigens und ausgesprochen lyrische Klänge angeschlagen werden, ist das eine besondere Sache. Was soll man z. B. dazu sagen, wenn Erbt und Rothstein ihrer Metrik zuliebe selbst das מרחם in V. 5 meinen entbehren zu können![12] — Durch seinen Feldzug gegen die „vielen Völker" ließ sich Stade zu der unglücklichen Änderung לְגוֹיֵי statt לגוים in V. 5 verleiten, die nirgends Billigung gefunden hat. Aber nun das Wort einfach zu streichen, wie Rothstein tut, zugleich (in der Nachfolge Erbt's) mit על הגוים ועל הממלכות in V. 10, ist vollends verkehrt. Das לגוים heißt nicht, daß Jeremia den Völkern, d. i. den Heiden, als Prophet zur Seite und zur Verfügung gestellt würde, sondern daß es sich bei seiner prophetischen Tätigkeit nicht um kleine Dinge sondern um grosse Angelegenheiten, um Sein oder Nichtsein ganzer Völker handeln werde. Das aber hervorzuheben, die umfassende, welterschütternde Aufgabe in grellen Gegensatz zu stellen gegen das bescheidene, eingezogene, zaghafte Selbstbewußtsein gerade dieses Propheten ist die eigentliche Abzielung dieser Vision und muß es sein. Die Wendungen dafür können gar nicht zu hoch gegriffen sein. Und zwar ohne daß man mit Duhm daraus eben auf späte Abfassung zu schließen hätte; vielmehr hat Jeremia das Eintreffen dieser Ankündigung sein Leben lang erfahren und den Druck davon aufs empfindlichste verspürt. Das bleibt übrigens selbst dann in V. 10 noch übrig, wenn man dort die Völker und Königreiche mit Erbt und Rothstein streicht. Dagegen hilft nichts als Beseitigung des ganzen Verses, wozu Stade sich entschließt. — Unter den vielen Vorschlägen für die Kürzung der langen Reihe von Infinitiven in V. 10 ist der von Volz, ולהאביד ולהרוס zu streichen, weil dadurch eine schöne chiastische Gegenüberstellung zweier dem Garten- und Hausbau entlehnter Bilderpaare und ein erwünschter Gleichklang gewonnen werde, am ersten erwägenswert. Immerhin mag man fragen, ob das Erschöpfen aller Ausdrücke für das Zerstören neben dem bescheidenen Nachfolgen neuen Werdens nicht seinen guten, wohl berechneten Sinn habe. Sicheres wird sich nie sagen lassen. —

[12] Ich übergehe deshalb andere Streichungen, besonders von Erbt, so בבטן V. 5, ארני und הנה V. 6, ähnlich V. 9 usw.

Einen besonders glücklichen Griff scheint mir Volz mit der Streichung von מפניהם in V. 8 getan zu haben. Er erklärt es einleuchtend als Auffüllung aus V. 17, wie denn 𝔊 L. 88. 341 — Parsons zählt zehn Minuskeln dafür auf — hier dem Text von V. 17 noch eine Strecke weiter folgen. In der Tat hat das מפניהם selbst dann keinen befriedigenden Anschluß nach rückwärts, wenn man das על כל אשר אשלחך תלך in V. 7 (mit אל statt על) nach LXX deutet „zu allen, an die ich dich sende, sollst du gehn". Für viel wahrscheinlicher halte ich aber den Sinn „weswegen immer ich dich sende, sollst du gehn" oder „womit immer ich dich beauftrage, das sollst du ausrichten", so daß הלך absolut steht, „einen Botengang tun". Dafür spricht besonders Jes. 6 8: את מי אשלח ומי ילך לנו. Ob nicht ebenso wie מפניהם aus V. 17, להצילך samt dem, wie Duhm richtig gesehen hat, in Jahwes Munde, dem Propheten gegenüber, unmöglichen נאם יהוה, aus V. 19 aufgefüllt ist, wo LXX die drei Worte in dieser Reihenfolge bringt, möchte ich zu erwägen geben. — Eine kaum zu umgehende Verbesserung hat man bisher stets übersehen. In V. 9 muß statt דברי durchaus דברִי gesprochen werden, weil es sich nicht um die vielen verschiedenen Worte wie in V. 7 handelt, sondern um die einmalige, grundlegende Eingebung des Wortes Jahwes durch die sinnlich verspürte Hand des Gottes. Den Beweis für die Richtigkeit dieser Aussprache bringt V. 12 b.

Die beiden ferneren Visionen V. 11 f. und V. 13 ff. sind nicht datiert, brauchen also nicht aus dem gleichen Jahre zu stammen wie die Berufungsvision, wenn das auch keineswegs auszuschließen ist. Sie werden lose angefügt sein nicht nur, weil es sich um gleichartige Offenbarungen handelt, sondern auch, weil sie die Berufungsvision zu ergänzen geeignet sind. Die erste mahnt zum Glauben und zur Geduld, wenn die Einlösung des erhaltenen Gottesswortes auf sich warten läßt; man mag Hab. 2 1–3 vergleichen, oder dieselbe prophetische Not mit anderer Lösung in Jes. 28 23 ff. Die zweite Vision erläutert die Ankündigungen von V. 5 und V. 10 durch nähere Bestimmung der Völkerverhältnisse, in die der Prophet eingreifen soll. Die beiden Stücke hier auszuschalten, etwa in V. 17 die Fortsetzung von V. 9 zu

sehen, wie Stade tut, ist nicht der geringste Anlaß. Das שנית von V. 13 nimmt auf V. 5–10, die erste der drei Visionen, einfach darum nicht Rücksicht, weil Jahwe dort nicht gefragt hat מה אתה ראה; dieser Wortlaut der Frage ist eben in das שנית eingeschlossen. Sicher fragt damit Jahwe nicht nach dem Inhalt irgend eines zufälligen, alltäglichen Gesichtseindrucks bei wachen Augen; sondern die ebenso wie Am. 7 8 8 2 gefaßte Frage schließt das dort und Am. 7 1, 4 vorausgehende כה הראני אדני יהוה abkürzend mit ein, es handelt sich zweifellos um Visionen. Auch daß Jeremia 24 1 und 38 21 die volle Form kennt, ändert daran nichts. Alles Grübeln und Dichten über eine diesen Visionen zugrunde liegende Wirklichkeit oder die Verknüpfung von wirklich Gesehenem mit Traumeswissen sollte man sich daher billig sparen. Der Prophet jedenfalls hat das Gesehene lediglich als von Jahwe durch Offenbarung ihm gewiesen verstanden.

Als eine wahre Erlösung empfinde ich es, daß man neuerdings angefangen hat, dem ופניו in V. 13 zu mißtrauen. Was soll man unter dem Gesicht oder der Vorderseite eines über dem Feuer stehenden Kessels verstehen? Von den versuchten Deutungen war immer jede neue ebenso unnatürlich wie die vorhergehende. Der Vorschlag מִפְּנֵי für מִפְּנֵי wird dadurch zugleich erledigt. Aber auch mit Rothstein's וּפִיו statt ופניו ist nichts gebessert; denn die Mündung eines siedenden Kessels weist nach keiner der vier Himmelsrichtungen, sondern immer nach oben.[13] Ehrlich vermutet statt ופניו „ein Substantiv von נָפַח, etwa נֹפַח, das die wallende Bewegung von etwas Kochendem bezeichnet. Wenn das Feuer unter einem großen Topf nicht gleichmäßig verteilt ist, kocht sein Inhalt an der Seite am stärksten, wo das meiste Feuer ist". Zu dieser Erklärung muß ich zwar wieder ein großes Fragezeichen setzen; aber der Gedanke an den Stamm נפח, Anknüpfung an das dicht vorhergehende נפוח, scheint mir sehr glücklich. Die einfache genaue Wiederholung dieses Wortes würde schon die Dienste tun: „einen angeblasenen Kessel sehe

[13] Unklar ist Rothstein's Übersetzung „Seine Öffnung [droht] von Norden her"; das klingt, als wenn die Handlung des Öffnens gemeint wäre, was doch gewiß nicht beabsichtigt ist.

ich, angeblasen von Norden her. Aber besser scheint mir, sowohl dem Sinne nach, als weil die Verderbnis zu ופניו sich dann besonders leicht erklärt, וְנֹפְחָיו: „und die ihn anblasen, [tun es] von Norden her". — Ob an dem תִּפְתַּח in V. 14 zu rütteln ist, ob man es nicht einfach als „wird losgelassen werden" beibehalten soll, scheint mir nach wie vor der Erwägung wert. An sich ist ein neues Tatwort hier wahrscheinlicher als die Wiederholung des in V. 13 gebrauchten, weil es sich um die Erklärung des dort im Bilde Gesehenen handelt. Will man aber LXX folgen, so dürfte Ehrlich's תִּנָּפֵחַ sich am meisten empfehlen, auch graphisch. Falsch ist jedenfalls Volz' neuer Vorschlag נָפַחְתִּי, weil er V. 15 unzulässig vorwegnimmt. Das Gesicht selbst, seine rein gegenständliche Deutung, Jahwes Urheberschaft, das ist die Reihenfolge der drei Aussagen in den Versen 13, 14, 15. Erst mit dem כי von V. 15 tritt Jahwe in die Handlung ein. — In V. 15 entscheidet sich Volz wie Rothstein und H. Schmidt nach LXX für Streichung von משפחות als aus 25 9 eingedrungen; „denn zu כִּסְאוֹ paßt wohl מַמְלָכוֹת ‚Dynastien' (1 10), aber nicht מִשְׁפָּחוֹת ‚Völkerstämme'". Wenn das nur richtig ist! Es müßte doch אִשָּׁה und כִּסְאָהּ heißen, wenn die Königreiche[14] bei der Belagerung Jerusalems ihren Thron vor dessen Toren aufrichten sollten. In Wirklichkeit aber können das nicht Königreiche noch Dynastien, sondern nur Könige, und so ist es geradezu unbegreiflich, daß die von Volz gewissenhaft gebuchte Lesart *τὰς βασιλείας* [*τῶν*] *βασιλέων* bisher gar keine Beachtung gefunden hat. Das *βασιλέων* ist nicht nur für LXX ansehnlich bezeugt durch $\mathfrak{G}^{L}$, Theodoret und Arabs, sondern auch ausdrücklich für MT durch Aquila, Theodotion und die Asterisci in 88 und Syro-Hexaplaris. Die מלכי הצפון ferner finden sich Jer. 25 26. Vor מַלְכֵי aber ist משפחות durchaus festzuhalten; denn die Völker, nicht die Reiche, wird Jahwe herbeirufen, und כל משפחות האדמה sagt schon Amos (3 2), vgl. auch משפחות צפון Jer. 25 9. Zu dem bunten Schauspiel, das damit vor Jeremia's geistiges Auge tritt, muß man das bewegte Vorbild in Jes. 22 5 ff. vergleichen. Gerade die Buntscheckigkeit des Heeres der Welteroberer wird mit

[14] „Dynastie" heißt ממלכה nirgends.

dem משפחות richtig gemalt. Wählen mag man zwischen dem vollen משפחות ממלכות מלכי, das wenigstens für Aquila bezeugt ist, und dem kürzeren und wohllautenderen משפחות מלכי. Im letzteren Falle wäre in MT מלכי dem vorausgehenden משפחות angepaßt, in $\mathfrak{G}^{L}$ usw. משפחות dem folgenden מלכי, beides begreiflich genug. Subjekt der Verba ובאו ונתנו sind jedenfalls die Könige; daß sie im Genetiv vorausgehn, macht keine Schwierigkeit. נאם יהוה davor muß ebenso wie in V. 8 späterer Zusatz sein, weil Jahwe zu Jeremia redet. Daß פֶּתַח überall nur „vor den Toren“ usw. heißt, nicht „an den Eingang“, wie noch Cornill, Rothstein, H. Schmidt übersetzen, hat Ehrlich Duhm gegenüber richtig festgestellt; die Beweisstellen dafür sind sehr zahlreich. Vor חמתיה aber muß dafür notwendig על eintreten; es liegt also gar kein Grund vor, den Rest des Verses 15 von ועל an zu streichen, wie H. Schmidt es tut. — Weiterhin streicht Erbt 17 a β von ודברת an, was ganz unmöglich, Volz von את an, was mindestens nicht gut ist, beide aus leidigen metrischen Gründen, die gar nicht hierher gehören. Selbst das von LXX nicht gesondert wiedergegebene, in V. 7 fehlende אנכי ist hier durchaus am Platze. In 17 b bietet LXX für die zweite Hälfte ein weitschweifiges, aus anderen Stellen zusammengesuchtes Quidproquo, augenscheinlich aus Scheu vor der Drohung פן אחתך, die ohne jeden Zweifel das Echteste des Echten ist. Aber nichts wert ist das folgende לפניהם, „daß ich dich nicht vor ihnen[15] erschrecke“, weil Jahwe sonst ja mit eben dem drohen würde, was schon ohne ihn eingetreten ist und ihm erst den Anlaß zum Einschreiten geben wird, mit dem Erschrecken vor den Menschen, an die der Prophet sein Wort richten soll. Womit Jahwe ihn bedroht, das ist ein ganz anderer Schrecken, ein göttlicher (1 Sam. 14 15), mit dem jener nicht entfernt verglichen werden kann. Darum folgt, daß das מפניהם gegen Erbt festzuhalten, לפניהם als schlechte Ableitung daraus mit Erbt und H. Schmidt zu streichen ist. Dadurch aber wird der Weg frei zu der richtigen Ergänzung des פן אחתך. Volz stößt sich an dem ואני הנה zu Anfang von 18, wo im Hauptstrom

15 לפניהם schlecht für מפניהם. Man möchte fast übersetzen „vor ihnen“ = „früher als sie“, was doch auch nicht angeht.

der LXX ואני fehlt. Er selbst streicht lieber הנה und behält ואני, weil es dem ואתה in V. 17 wirkungsvoll entspreche (so auch Duhm). Aber ein Gegensatz zu V. 17, die Rolle Jahwes gegenüber der des Propheten, wird hier keineswegs eingeführt; vielmehr bleibt der Prophet selbst das logische Subjekt, und V. 18 bringt nur seine besondere Ausrüstung zu dem Amte, das ihm durch V. 17 übertragen wird. Damit erweist sich umgekehrt das ואני für V. 18 als überflüssig, das הנה als vollkommen ausreichend. Das ואני gehört vielmehr, ohne das ו, zum Vorhergehenden, und gerade darum fehlt es in LXX, weil es mit dem vorhergehenden Satze dort durch andere geläufige Wendungen ersetzt ist. Es heißt also: אל תחת מפניהם פן אחתך אֲנִי „Erschrick nicht vor ihnen, daß nicht ich dich erschrecke!“, oder anders ausgedrückt „damit ich dir nicht Ursache gebe, vor mir zu erschrecken!“ Nicht gegen das ואתה in V. 17 steht das אני im Gegensatz, sondern gegen das הֵמָּה in מפניהם. — In V. 18 muß jedenfalls חומַת statt חמות oder חוֹמֹת gelesen werden; die falsche Aussprache stammt aus V. 15. Über das Mehr des MT einerseits, der LXX anderseits läßt sich schwer eine ausreichend sichere Entscheidung treffen. Richtig wird man mit LXX על כל הארץ streichen (so Cornill, Rothstein, Volz); aber sofort taucht dann die Frage auf, ob es nicht aus dem בְּצוּרָה (vgl. 15 20) entwickelt ist, das LXX an dieser Stelle mehr bietet. Viel hat auch das לְכָל־מלכי der LXX gegenüber dem למלכי des MT für sich (dafür Cornill). Aber ob man das eigenartige ולעמוד ברזל mit dem Hauptstrom der LXX streichen soll (so Cornill, Rothstein, H. Schmidt, Volz), ist doch schon recht zweifelhaft, und wenn vollends Cornill selbst das überall bezeugte ולחומת נחשת noch mit in den Kauf gibt, so ist das reine Willkür, vielleicht durch seine wenig durchsichtigen metrischen Voraussetzungen bedingt. Noch ein wenig stärker als die eiserne Säule ist durch die griechische Überlieferung das לכהניה angefochten, und Cornill und Rothstein streichen es demgemäß. Hält man es fest, was mir wie Volz richtiger zu sein scheint, so wird man Ursache haben, nach 8 Mscrr., LXX und Syr. vor לשריה ein ו zu lesen. — In V. 19 ist jedenfalls wie in V. 8, 15 das נאם יהוה nicht am Platze; seine verschiedene Stelle in der Überlieferung — LXX und Syr. bringen es am Schluß —

erleichtert die Streichung, für die auch einige Mscrr. eintreten. Volz' Herstellung אני יהוה, so daß nur נאם, durch Dittographie sozusagen, hinzugekommen wäre, mag daneben erwogen werden.

Der Wortlaut, der, so nach Kräften gesichtet, für das erste Kapitel des Prophetenbuchs gewonnen ist, verdient alles Zutrauen, auch als Eingang des Urjeremia nach Kap. 36. Natürlich gilt dies nach wie vor für die großen Züge; einzelne Worte und Wendungen mögen in noch weiterem Umfang, als das oben bereits geschehen ist, freigegeben werden, wie bei jeder Überlieferung alter Texte. In den Fußtapfen Jesaja's, wenn es eines Vorbildes dafür erst bedürfte, beginnt Jeremia seine Aufzeichnungen mit dem Bericht über seine Berufung durch eine nach V. 9 auch dem Gefühl, nur vielleicht dem Gesicht, wahrnehmbare Offenbarung Jahwes. Er schließt daran zwei durch Jahwes Wort gedeutete Visionen, die ebenso wie jene erste Offenbarung nur ihm selber, für seine Person, zugekommen sind, daher hier zum ersten Mal der Öffentlichkeit zugänglich werden. Beide beziehen sich auf sein Amt; sie sollen ihn darin getrost und fest machen, gefaßt auf das Schlimmste, was ihm ferner begegnen mag. Für die Echtheit dieser weiteren Offenbarung bietet ihre Schlichtheit die denkbar beste Bürgschaft. Griffen hier und ebenso in der eigentlichen Berufung (V. 5–9), wie Duhm meint, späte Hände ein, in majorem prophetae gloriam, sie würden alles tun, um das berühmte Vorbild in Jes. 6 — und für späte Zeit auch von Ez. 1 ff. — an Pracht und Erhabenheit womöglich zu überbieten. Nun ists bloß ein Mandelstock, ein blühender wohl, und ein siedender Kessel, die unscheinbarsten und alltäglichsten Dinge, so unscheinbar, daß man sich gerade in neuester Zeit oft genug daran gestoßen und gemeint hat, Jeremia hätte, was er zu sagen hatte, in das einfache Wort wirkungsvoller einkleiden können als in solche blasse und wenig zutreffende Bilder. Ja, wenn die späten Verschönerer an der Arbeit wären! Aber hier handelt es sich um keine Einkleidung nach Wahl, sondern um die wahrhaftige Erfahrung des stillsten und bescheidensten aller Propheten, und auch diese seine geistlichen Erfahrungen schmiegen sich von selbst seiner innersten Eigenart an und prägen sich in deren Formen. Nur

Zweifelsucht und Willkür kann sich an dieser Gestalt der Überlieferung ärgern.

Noch ein Wort, das über Kap. 1 hinausgreift, sei mir gestattet hinzuzufügen. Wir haben überall, wie sichs gebührt, LXX zu Rate gezogen. Es ist bekannt, in welchem Maße der Umfang des Buchs Jeremia in LXX hinter MT zurückbleibt, und wie sehr man immer wieder geneigt ist, ihre Textgestalt als ursprünglicher und maßgebend anzusehen und den hebräischen Text danach umzugestalten. Das Problem ist im wesentlichen das gleiche wie bei dem Buche Hiob. In meinem Kommentar zu diesem Buche (2. Aufl. S. LXI) habe ich neben anderen Gründen für die größere Ursprünglichkeit des längeren Textes von MT auch den angeführt, daß zu Anfang des Buches der griechische Wortlaut dem hebräischen völlig gleichläuft, ein Plus oder Minus sich durchaus nicht herausstellt, dann ganz allmählich, stufenweise, der Unterschied in der Länge zunimmt, vom zweiten Redegang an der Abstand immer größer wird, bis dann auf einmal in den Reden Jahwes beide Ströme wieder zusammenfließen und im gleichen Bette weiterlaufen. Ich habe dort daraus geschlossen, daß die Übersetzer auf die Dauer die Geduld verloren, ihre Vorlage für weitschweifig hielten, dem Leser zuliebe immer mehr gekürzt haben, wo nicht überwiegende Gründe sie zu größerer Treue veranlaßten. Wesentlich das gleiche Schauspiel wiederholt sich hier. Wohl fehlen in LXX einzelne Worte; aber dafür treten andere hinzu, so daß der Unterschied der Summen beiderseits fast gleich Null ist. Die zahlreichen Streichungen, die besonders Erbt um seines Metrums willen vollzieht, mögen beweisen, wieviel im Sinne der LXX der späteren Abschnitte gleich im ersten Kapitel noch „entbehrlich“ wäre. Eine große Strecke habe ich das Experiment aufs genaueste weiter verfolgt und dabei die gleiche Erfahrung wie beim Buche Hiob gemacht, ganz langsame Zunahme des Minus der LXX. Aber ohne jede Mühe kann sich jetzt jeder den Augenschein verschaffen, seitdem Cornill, ein neuer Origenes, die Übersetzung über seinem Kommentar durch verschiedene Druckschriften zu einer vollständigen Synopse der beiden Rezensionen ausgestaltet hat, nicht zum Vorteil der Genießbarkeit des Wortlauts. Man wird finden, daß etwa von

Kap. 16 an das Minus in LXX bedeutend zunimmt und immer weiter anschwillt, ebenfalls nicht ohne eine gewisse Ebbe und Flut. Ich halte auch hier für wahrscheinlich, was ich beim Buche Hiob ausgesprochen habe, daß das Ermüden gegenüber der Länge des Textes, das Streben nach Kürzung den oder die Übersetzer vor allen Dingen geleitet hat. Wäre statt dessen bei den Abschreibern des hebräischen Textes das Streben nach Deutlichkeit, nach breiterer Umschreibung, nach Auslegung während der Wiedergabe am Werke gewesen, so müßte das umgekehrt am Anfang stärker hervortreten, auf die Länge aber sich abstumpfen und ermüden. Ich bilde mir nicht ein das Problem damit zu erschöpfen; aber sorgfältiger Erwägung wird diese Schlußfolgerung immerhin wert sein.

BRIEF COMMUNICATIONS

Zu Deut. 32 43

IN seiner Anzeige meiner Schrift „Das Lied Mose's“ (Deutsche Literaturzeitung 1920 Nr. 51/52 Sp. 782 f.) sagt H. Gunkel, meine Ableitung des Gedichts aus dem Exil scheine ihm ganz unmöglich, weil dieses nicht nur unter den aufgezählten Plagen nicht mit erwähnt sei, sondern — und dies sei mir entgangen — jeder Hinweis auf die Befreiung aus der Gefangenschaft und auf die Heimkehr auch in der Weissagung am Schluß fehle. Das wäre ja meinerseits eine arge Unachtsamkeit, die mit der Sorgfalt und Genauigkeit, die Gunkel mir zu Eingang nachrühmt, in grellem Widerspruch stände. Aber das Übersehen liegt doch auf seiner Seite, und zwar nicht nur mir, sondern auch dem Liede gegenüber. Denn nur dem Buchstaben nach trifft zu, was er von dessen Abschluß sagt. Von Befreiung und Heimkehr ist freilich dort nicht die Rede, aber einfach darum nicht, weil sich von V. 40 an — und vorbereitet ist dies schon seit V. 26 — alle Heilsansage nur in das Gewand der Rache an den Feinden Jahwes und Israels kleidet. Alles, was daraus an Heil für Israel sich ergeben wird, muß lediglich zwischen den Zeilen gelesen werden. Aber gerade auf Befreiung und Heimkehr, und auf sie allein, wird dabei doch deutlich genug angespielt, und das hervorzuheben habe ich mir keineswegs entgehen lassen. Zum Schlußverse 43 des Liedes sage ich S. 40: „Ehrlich's בַּגּוֹיִם, ‚jubelt unter den Heiden, ihr sein Volk‘, ist recht eigentlich das Ei des Kolumbus . . . . Aber גוים [so MT statt בגוים] könnte sehr wohl alte Änderung sein, vielleicht so alt wie die Aufnahme des Liedes an unserer Stelle. Denn wie kann Mose von seinem Volke als unter die Heiden zerstreut sprechen! Freilich steckt füglich dasselbe in der letzten Zeile,

die die Entsündigung seines Landes oder Bodens einführt [lies mit LXX und Vulg. אדמת עמו], natürlich von der Befleckung durch das Eindringen der Heiden". Ich glaubte damit genug gesagt zu haben, sehe aber aus Gunkel's Einwurf, daß ich, was ich meinte, deutlicher hätte hervorheben sollen. Der richtige Wortlaut (nach Ehrlich) stellt fest, daß das Volk sich gegenwärtig in der Verbannung befindet; darum muß, wenn es aufgefordert wird, über Jahwes zukünftige Taten zu jubeln, in die Rache an seinen Feinden die Befreiung seines Volkes aus der Verbannung eingeschlossen sein. Dasselbe, sagte ich, stecke füglich auch in der letzten Zeile. Wenn nämlich Jahwe die Heimat seines Volkes sühnend von der Befleckung durch das Eindringen der Heiden reinigt, so ist das selbstverständlich und überall nur die vorbereitende Handlung für die Heimführung seines Volkes. Ausdrücklich hebe ich ferner dort hervor, daß גוים für das verräterische בגוים auf alter absichtlicher Änderung beruhen werde, setze also dafür einen ähnlichen Vorgang voraus wie für die Streichung der Verbannung unter den Strafen hinter V. 25 (S. 45).

Ganz umgekehrt also von dem, was Gunkel meint schließen zu dürfen, spricht gerade der Abschluß des Liedes, man darf sagen entscheidend, für seine Abfassung während der Verbannung. Daß es mir gelungen ist, seine eigene Ansetzung und Herleitung des Liedes zu widerlegen, scheint übrigens Gunkel zuzugeben.

Ps. 82 6 f.

In meinem Büchlein „Die schönsten Psalmen" (Leipzig 1915) habe ich diese Stelle übersetzt:

„Ich habs gesagt: Ihr seid zwar Götter
Und Söhne des Höchsten allesamt —
Dennoch, wie Menschen sollt ihr sterben,
Wie der erste beste Fürst sollt ihr fallen!"

Falsch ist hier die Übersetzung „Ich habs gesagt". Richtig muß es heißen „Ich hatte gedacht, ihr wäret Götter / Und Söhne des Höchsten allesamt: / Aber wie Menschen" usw. In dem אני אמרתי mit folgendem אכן haben wir es mit einer

stehenden Formel zu tun, die eine irrige Vorstellung durch die Tatsachen widerlegt und berichtigt. Stellen zum Beweise sind reichlich vorhanden: Jes. 49 4 ואני אמרתי — אכן; Jer. 3 19 f. ואנכי אמרתי, weiter ואֹמַר — אכן; Zeph. 3 7 אמרתי — אכן; Ps. 31 23 ואני אמרתי — אכן; Hi. 32 7 f. אמרתי — אכן.[1] An allen diesen Stellen ist אמרתי mit „ich dachte“ oder „ich hatte gedacht“ wiederzugeben und wird der geäußerte Gedanke durch den mit אכן eingeführten Satz widerlegt. Für manche dieser Stellen findet man in der Tat die richtige Auffassung in den geläufigen Übersetzungen. Nach der Einsicht, daß auch Ps. 82 6 f. so aufgefaßt werden müsse, habe ich lange vergeblich gesucht. Fast alle Ausleger finden hier in dem אמרתי ein Dekret, sei es das von V. 6 oder, wie schon Olshausen, das von V. 7, wie auch meine Übersetzung der letzteren Auffassung folgt. Baethgen meint, daß man auf das אמרתי hin geradezu ein Citat erwarten sollte, das doch nicht nachzuweisen sei. Nach langem Zurückwälzen der Auslegungen und Übersetzungen stieß ich endlich bei H. Ewald — auch Wellhausen, Cheyne, Briggs, Hitzig, Hupfeld, Delitzsch, Hengstenberg, de Wette usw. bis auf Luther und Calvin täuschten die Erwartung — auf die richtige Übersetzung „Ich dachte, Götter wäret ihr“, und nur bei Ernst Meier fand diese Auffassung ein Echo. Ewald nennt das eine ironische Wendung und hat dabei im Munde des höchsten Richters offenbar ein etwas unbehagliches Gefühl. Indessen macht das gar keine Not, wenn die Angeredeten keine Götter sind, sondern nur sich selbst in ihrem Hochmut dafür gehalten haben. Sind sie es aber wirklich — und V. 1 sowohl wie V. 7 lassen keinen Zweifel, daß es sich um die Götter der Heidenvölker handelt, die sich hier „depotenziert“ als Angehörige der himmlischen Ratsversammlung vor Jahwes Thron zusammengefunden haben — so mag man sich verlegen fragen, was denn an der von Jahwe in V. 6 angeführten Meinung irrig und der Berichtigung bedürftig sei. In der Tat verlangt der Zusammenhang eine Ergänzung; sie ist aber nicht

[1] Eine weitere Stelle ist in Ps. 66 18 f. durch Textverderbnis verschüttet. Lies für das unmögliche און אם ראיתי בלבי in 18 a אָמַרְתִּי אָוֶן בְּלִבִּי. Es handelt sich wohl nur um eine übel verbesserte Umstellung.

am Texte zu vollziehen, sondern nur in Gedanken. Jahwes „Ich hatte gedacht, ihr wäret Götter" setzt sich stillschweigend fort mit einem „und würdet eurer göttlichen Würde entsprechend euer Amt an den Völkern führen, erhaben über jede menschliche Schwäche und Leidenschaft". „Aber" — so ergänzt sich V. 7 in Gedanken — „erweist sich diese meine Voraussetzung auch fernerhin als irrig, so sollt ihr wie Menschen sterben, und wie der erste beste Fürst sollt ihr fallen!" Wem das zu kühn vorkommt, der vergegenwärtige sich einen Auftritt aus der Gegenwart, wie er alle Tage vorkommen kann. Ein Schuldirektor kanzelt eine Klasse wegen unwürdigen Betragens ab: „Ich hatte gedacht, ich hätte es mit den Söhnen gebildeter Familien zu tun — aber wie Schuhputzer werde ich euch behandeln und einen nach dem anderen fliegen lassen!" Niemand wird das unverständlich finden. Von selbst ergänzt sich, wo der Gedankenstrich steht „und würdet euch demgemäß betragen. Ich hatte euch deshalb Vertrauen geschenkt und Freiheit gelassen. Wenn aber dergleichen von jetzt an wieder vorkommt, usw." Die Dramatik und dichterische Schönheit unseres Psalms gewinnt nur durch die knappe Kürze dieses Quos ego!

Aber weit entschiedener noch als in meiner Schrift „Das Lied Mose's" (S. 19 Fußnote) muß ich bei dieser richtigen Auffassung darauf bestehen, daß hier בני עליון nicht mit בְּנֵי = בני יהוה gleichgesetzt werden darf, daß vielmehr Jahwe hier sich selbst von dem höchsten Gott unterscheidet, ebenso wie der Dichter ihn Deut. 32 8 von jenem unterscheidet und ihm vom „Höchsten" seinen Anteil an Welt und Menschheit zuweisen läßt.[2] Das „Ich hatte gedacht, ihr wäret" usw. ist unter der Voraussetzung, daß auch hier, wie zweifellos an vielen anderen Stellen, עליון = יהוה, die Angeredeten also Jahwes Söhne seien, so gut wie unmöglich. Auch hier wie in Deut. 32 ist es vielmehr

[2] Ich möchte bei dieser Gelegenheit doch tiefer hängen, daß Willy Staerk (Literaturblatt der Frankfurter Zeitung 24. 10. 1920) diese meine Ausführungen über Deut. 32 8 „mit ehrlichem Bedauern über das mangelnde Verständnis für die prophetische Gottesidee des Alten Testaments" gelesen hat und der Meinung ist, man dürfe sich, wenn das am grünen Holze geschehe, „über Pamphlete wie Delitzschs ‚Große Täuschung' nicht wundern".

klar, daß Jahwe, der in der Vorzeit einmal als Einzelgott neben anderen „Söhnen des Höchsten“ stand, nunmehr der Gott der ganzen Welt geworden ist, so daß er nicht nur, wie dort, Macht über alle Völker hat, sondern auch ihre Götter als seine Untergebenen um seinen Thron versammelt. Übrigens drängt sich dieselbe Anschauung der Hauptsache nach auch in der ganz späten Stelle Gen. 14 18–20 noch durch, wo es doch keineswegs genügt, אל עליון bloß als Decknamen für יהוה zu fassen. Auch in dem Gattungsnamen בני אלהים wird man ohne den Namen עליון dasselbe vorauszusetzen haben. Es ist kein Zufall, daß wir bei keinem Erzähler der Genesis einen Bericht über die Erschaffung der himmlischen Geisterwesen finden.

Nachträge und Verbesserungen zu Zeitschr. f. d. Alttest. Wiss. 1915 S. 175 ff.

Ps. 19 10 lies אִמֶרֶת statt יראת mit Kautzsch nach Ps. 119 11, 38, 41, 50, 58, 68, 76, 82, 103 116 usw. — Ps. 20 7 ist כִּי עָנָהוּ für יענהו ebenso leicht und besser als וַיַּעֲנֵהוּ; in V. 10 lies mit LXX מַלְכְּךָ statt המלך. — Ps. 24 2 dürfte תְּהוֹם hinter נַהֲרוֹת übersehen sein. — Ps. 42 11 steckt in ברצח בעצמותי vielleicht ein בְּרֹצְתָם בְּעִבּוֹתַי, vgl. die Verderbnis in 13 3. — Ps. 43 1 ist doch wohl חָסֶד statt חסיד zu lesen; V. 3 b empfiehlt sich ואל־משכן כְּבוֹדֶךָ (vgl. 26 8); V. 4 lies אֶל־מִזְבַּחַךְ, mit oder ohne יהוה statt אלהים, dann bloß אֵל שמחתי, streiche ferner גילי als Variante und lies בְּנֵבֶל וּבכנור (vgl. 57 9 108 3). — Ps. 44 4 lies וּזרוע עֻזֶּךָ. — Ps. 45 6 genügt doch die Versetzung von שנונים schwerlich. Man wird in תחתיך ursprüngliches בְּאַשְׁפָּתֶךָ zu erkennen haben und darf dann wohl עמים nach LXX Δυνατέ durch גִּבּוֹר ersetzen. יפלו heißt dann einfach „sie mögen treffen!“ — S. 187 Z. 6 v. u. lies Jes. 3 3 statt V. 3. — Ps. 83 13 lies יְהוָה אֱלֹהֵימוֹ statt אלהים. — Ps. 110 7 ist ראשו statt ראש kaum zu umgehn. — Ps. 127 2 ist שנא doch wohl versprengte Dittographie des dreimal vorhergehenden Stichworts שוא.

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THE FEELING FOR FORM IN PSALM 104

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WHAT I have to offer may seem to be nothing more than an idle fancy. I am by no means certain that it is anything more than that, myself. Yet possibly the time will not be misspent if it is devoted to a renewed contemplation of one of the most beautiful psalms in the Psalter, Ps. 104. Whatever may be thought of my conclusions, I trust what is said may do its part in stimulating anew a relish for the sheer beauty and the religious significance to be found in the study of that literature to which it is our glad privilege to devote our lives. Is this psalm susceptible of a strophical analysis that is at once simple and natural and at the same time reveals the beauty of the poem more fully than has hitherto been recognized? The key to the analysis is, of course, the first chapter of Genesis. The account of the creation in that chapter is followed through the first five days. This is not done in any mechanical fashion. The author of Ps. 104 is a real poet and not a pedant. He allows himself various liberties, as we shall see. Nevertheless, when Gunkel and Staerk, because of the poetic variations from the scientific[1] account of the creation, fail to relate their analysis definitely to the sequence of the creative days, they ignore the most outstanding factor in the structure of the psalm.

1 When the first chapter of Genesis is spoken of as a scientific account of the creation, I, of course, mean that it is scientific from the point of view of ancient times. And by the way, the mistake is often made of supposing that the interest of Gen. 1 is primarily scientific. It is not. It is religious. What the author of Gen. 1 was trying to do was to express a great religious and theological idea in the terms of the best science of his day. From this point of view he takes his place with the

Ewald long ago saw that the prevailing rhythmical figure was the ten-line stanza, and this has been accepted by Cheyne and Duhm. But is this pattern regular? Should the attempt be made to reduce it to regularity? Ewald and Cheyne do not try to do this; Duhm does. Gunkel, Cobb and Staerk present increasingly irregular strophes. Briggs, on the other hand, by means of very determined sawing and planing, which leaves a great litter of shavings behind him in the shape of glosses, reduces all the stanzas to eight lines. The result is a very wooden poem, indeed. May there not be a golden mean between these extremes which does justice both to the apparent regularity and the apparent flexibility of the poem and relates the two characteristics to each other in such a way as to bring out a new beauty in the form of the psalm.

1) If we turn to vs. 19–23 we discover a stanza describing the work of the fourth day of creation. A couplet is devoted to the creation of the sun and moon (v. 19; the stars are left unmentioned), and a quatrain each to the night (vs. 20, 21) and to the day (vs. 22, 23), the whole rounded out in exactly ten lines. The finish of this stanza is perfect. It advances from sunset to sunset in accordance with the Hebrew method of reckoning the day and depicts the mystery and terror of the darkness and the serenity and security of the day in an inimitable way.

2) In vs. 5–9 we have the description of the first half of the third day's work, the creation of dry ground, and again the thought is rounded out in an admirable manner in ten lines. But the ten lines group themselves somewhat differently than in the case of vs. 19–23 into two couplets, vs. 5 and 6, a quatrain, vs. 7 and 8, and a couplet, v. 9. In other words within the main pattern of the ten-line stanza we have various subordinate figures. The beauty of this stanza is probably not surpassed in the Old Testament. Here the poet clearly shows his independence of his original. He sees the world with all its variety of mountain and valley reposing beneath the surface of the Deep, and then at the divine command the waters part and the

Alexandrine theologians and with all that company of earnest but often misunderstood souls who seek to relate their religious experience to the best thought and the fullest knowledge of their times.

beautiful world is seen to emerge, the mountains rising and the valleys falling, before the poet's kindling eyes.

The divisions in vs. 19–23 and vs. 5–9 are so obvious and the expression of the thoughts so perfect that there is general agreement upon them among commentators. Only Dr. Briggs is an exception. He cuts out vs. 8 and 20 in the interest of his eight-line division. But from an examination of these two stanzas we may draw one conclusion of great importance for our further investigation. *This poet is a master of form and of expression.* But if so, we have the right to expect the same fine craftsmanship in the remainder of the poem, unless in so short a lyric he nods incorrigibly.

3) In vs. 1–4 as they stand there are ten more lines, probably arranged in two couplets, vs. 1a, 1b and vs. 1c–2a, a quatrain, vs. 2b–3, and a couplet, v. 4, as in the case of vs. 5–9. Lines 3 and 4 are evidently parallel. Therefore line 2 must be taken with line 1. Unless the psalm were studied as a whole it might seem natural to take line 1 as an introductory line, possibly a liturgical addition, separate from what follows. But it cannot be separated from line 2, and there is no reason why the two lines together should not be the introductory couplet of the first stanza. In view of the certainly of the ten-line division in the two cases thus far examined this seems by far the most natural view to take. In this initial stanza the creative acts of the first two days, creation of light and of the firmament, are clearly present in the poet's mind. With the light and the sky are very beautifully associated the clouds and winds and lightnings. We certainly have not caught our poet napping *here.*

3) Thus far we have discovered three stanzas, describing the first two days of creation (Stanza I), the first half of the third day (Stanza II) and the fourth day (Stanza V). In the creation story there was the creation of plant life on the *second* half of the third day. We are not surprised, therefore, to find in vs. 10–18, i. e. between the account of the creation of the dry ground on the *first* half of the third day and of the heavenly bodies on the fourth day, references to plant life, trees, grain, wine, oil. It thus becomes certain that the poet is intentionally following the order of the creative days. But instead of the

ten-line stanza which we have found hitherto, we now have a stanza in its present form of exactly twenty lines. This is at once reassuring and also disconcerting. It confirms the view that the number ten which has thus far been seen to dominate the structure of the stanzas is not a fancied fact but a real fact in the psalm. On the other hand the fact that the present stanza is twenty lines raises a query. Could there have been originally two stanzas here, later combined by accident into a single long stanza? In either case it is evident that the poet is especially attracted by the thought of the loveliness of growing things and enjoys lingering upon it. There is more independent elaboration here than anywhere else in the poem. If we examine these twenty lines more closely, several things at once strike the attention. a) In the first place there is the great emphasis upon *water,* vs. 10 and 14. How is the dry ground, the creation of which was described in the preceding stanza, to be prepared for the production of plant life? It must be irrigated. Water! That is the indispensable condition of luxuriant vegetation. This thought is a far more poignant thought to a dweller in Palestine than it is to us. We take water as a matter of course. Not so the Easterner. Where life is so close to the desert and rain confined to certain seasons of the year the wonder of water is appreciated far more than it is with us. Hence it is not astonishing that a stanza dealing with plant-life should be, as it were, saturated with the idea of water. b) Again, this water is carefully traced to its *two main sources*, the *springs* and the streams that flow from them, v. 10, and the *rains*, v. 13[2]. c) In the third place the *rains* are immediately associated with the growth of what may be called the great staples of life, the herbage for the cattle, and grain and wine and oil for the nourishment and pleasure of man, vs. 13–15. According to the present text the trees also seem to depend upon the rain, though this is left rather to inference from the present position of the reference (vs. 16 and 17) than directly stated. At v. 16 we arrive at our first ambiguity. The trees of the Lord are satisfied. Satisfied with what? We must go back to v. 13 to find out. But the

[2] The contrast between the Wadys and the mountains which is sometimes drawn (cf. Duhm) is a subordinate contrast.

thought has been considerably diverted by the intervening verses, 14 and 15, and the reference to the satisfaction of the trees in the present connection is not as easy and natural as we would expect from this poet. d) On the other hand the fountains are associated *only* with quenching the thirst of the wild asses. This is curious, when one stops to think of it, in a stanza which seems to be devoted to *plant* life and *to water as the condition of plant life.* e) But there is another and much greater difficulty in the verses. What is the antecedent of "them" (עליהם) in v. 12, and how is this phrase to be translated? At this point the interpreters have a hard time of it. Are the birds *by* the springs or *over* the springs or upon the springs, or *over* the wild asses or *by* the wild asses? Even a Biblical exegete, who is capable of almost anything, would hardly say that they were *upon* the wild asses. f) What about the leafy branches in v. 12a? Where are the trees? g) Finally, what of the rocks as the home for the conies in v. 18? This terrain is also difficult for the unwary footsteps of the exegete. Has the thought in v. 18 anything to do with the rest of this section? It is no doubt suggested by the reference to the home of the birds, v. 17; but it is certainly not in keeping with the theme of plant life. Some may find in v. 18 an example of the poet's naïveté. But I cannot feel that the *kind* of poet we have thus far found the author of Ps. 104 to be would thus lose the thread of a thought which he has enjoyed so much as to give a double stanza to its elaboration. Cheyne has done much to clear up the difficulties of this section. By his transposition of vs. 16, 17 between vs. 11 and 12 several things are accomplished which Cheyne himself failed fully to point out. a) A suitable antecedent is now provided for "them", and the phrase is to be translated "*upon* them" i. e. upon the trees (so Cheyne). b) The leafy branches of v. 12 now come appropriately after the mention of the trees v. 17. c) The trees are now clearly seen to be watered by the springs. d) But most important of all, there is now the possibility of logically dividing the twenty-line stanza into two ten-line stanzas. The first of them deals with the springs, which water the timid creatures of the desert, and also with the trees, while the thought of the trees suggests the beautiful description of the birds singing in them.

The whole is a lovely oasis scene. The second deals with the rain and associates with it the provision for man and beast. It seems to me that this suggestion of Cheyne is a real inspiration. It clears up all the difficulties of this section but one, and the result is strikingly beautiful. The one difficulty is what to do with the wild goats and the conies? Cheyne leaves them where they are in their cragy uplands in v. 18, which now follow vs. 13–15. This is impossible, in spite of the superficial coincidence that the stanza, on this arrangement, begins and closes with a reference to mountains. V. 18 cannot be separated from v. 17. The conies can maintain themselves in the text only by clinging desperately to the company of the stork. Duhm feels this, and in order to keep vs. 17 and 18 as close together as possible, arranges the stanzas as follows, vs. 10–12, 16, 17 and vs. 18, 13–15. Most of the advantages of Cheyne's transposition are lost in this arrangement, and the conies and the wild-goats are advanced to a position of dignity at the beginning of the second stanza which they do not at all deserve. There is no help for it, so far as I can see, but to chase these unfortunate little beasts out of the text altogether, if Cheyne's transposition is adopted. The advantages gained by this transposition far outweigh the loss of these creatures. My idea is that two lines were lost from the fourth stanza at the time the original text was accidentally jumbled into its present arrangement, and later v. 18 was added under the influence of v. 17 by some one who did not apprehend the real purpose of the original poem at this point.

The subordinate figures within the main pattern of these two reconstructed stanzas are as follow: a) a couplet v. 10, and probably two quatrains, v. 11 with 16, and v. 17 with 12; b) a couplet v. 13 and two tristichs v. 14 and v. 15. The last couplet is lost.

4) Thus far five stanzas have been recovered, each of ten lines, in which the order of the creative days is carefully followed through the first four days. On the fifth day marine life and birds were created. But the poet has already dealt with the birds. Hence his next stanza deals only with the life of the sea. Strictly speaking only vs. 25 and 26 expressly refer to the subject. V. 24 is introductory. Yet it is a most appropriate introduction.

The poet has been thinking of all the varied life of the land, the birds, the cattle, the beasts of the forest, men themselves; but now when he turns to think of all that teeming life that moves below the sparkling surface of the sea, he cannot repress an exclamation of wonder at the abundance and variety of it all. How versatile, how inexhaustible is this creative wisdom of the Lord! But this stanza appears at last definitely to break with the established ten-line pattern of the preceding part of the poem. Does not v. 27 properly belong to what follows? This is the unanimous view of commentators. It is at this point that I will probably be accused of allowing my fancy to run riot. I cannot accept Duhm's attempt to construct two additional lines out of vs. 24–27. To my mind it is artificial and improbable. I would challenge the view that v. 27 must *necessarily* be taken with what follows. If this verse be taken with what precedes the two lines necessary to complete the usual pattern are gained. But is this a legitimate arrangement? Does not v. 27 introduce the thought that is developed in vs. 28–30? Should it not, therefore, be associated with them? I would urge three considerations in support of my contrary arrangement. a) The construction of v. 27 differs from that of vs. 28–30. Every line but line 5 in these verses begins with a verb in the second person. This argument in itself does not carry much weight, yet taken with what follows it is not to be ignored. b) Of more importance is the fact that in the preceding stanza (v. 21) the thought of the dependence of the beasts upon the Lord for their food is expressly mentioned. It would therefore seem quite natural for it to be introduced again in connection with sea life, especially if it were the purpose of the poet to give a further stanza to the amplification of this thought. c) But most interesting of all is the beautiful arrangement which results from taking v. 27 with what precedes. Not only does it provide the desired number of lines for the sixth stanza, but it results in a seventh stanza in which there are just seven lines and this is a stanza devoted to the thought of God's Providence. Is this only a conceit of mine or is this arrangement intentional? When it is remembered how almost Greek our poet is in his feeling for form, how beautifully he sculptures out his thoughts in his ten-line stanzas, is there

anything improbable in the view that in this seventh stanza, after he had finished his account of the creative works, he varied his pattern purposely for the sake of the beautiful effect? When such an effect can be so simply attained why not accept it? Every one admits that the next major pause falls at the end of v. 30 and in vs. 28–30 there are just seven lines. If v. 27 is taken with what follows this leaves eight lines for the fifth creative day and nine lines for God's providence. We have seen how Duhm invented two extra lines in vs. 24–27, and now he must invent another extra line for vs. 27–30, in order to carry through his ten-line arrangement. But his conjectures are quite unconvincing. On the other hand to accept eight-line and nine-line stanzas at this point is a needless departure from the symmetry of the poem. In the suggested arrangement the figures woven into the main patterns are: a) in vs. 24–27, two tristichs, v. 24, v. 25, and two couplets, v. 26, v. 27; b) in vs. 28–30, a couplet, v. 28, a tristich, v. 29, and a couplet, v. 30. In passing, the special beauty of this stanza on God's providence should be noted. Our poet loves sunny landscapes, but at v. 29 a shadow falls across them. Yet he provides in vs. 28 and 30 a silver lining to the cloud. He cannot bring his stanza to a close with the solemn thought of v. 29. He must repeat in the closing couplet the thought of love and bounty in the first couplet though with a variation in which he sees the beautiful carpet of tender green unrolling over the arid landscape after rain as I have seen the sear hills east of Jerusalem soften into a myriad delicate tints of new created life after the same sort of blessing from on high.

With this seventh stanza the hymn proper is concluded. The work of the sixth day, creation of animals and man, is not described. They have already been introduced in various ways in the preceding stanzas; what follows, vs. 31–35, is an epilogue. This section fares rather badly at the hands of the critics. Duhm sees in it another ten-line stanza if the last clause of v. 35 is omitted, but treats it with something of contempt, and it is usually regarded as a more or less scrappy agglomeration of ideas. I cannot share this view. This section was originally formed of two quatrains which are quite distinct in thought and yet related to each other in a very beautiful way. Observe how the

second line of v. 34 with its emphatic *I* takes up the thought in the second line of v. 31. The poem comes to its fitting conclusion at v. 34 where the poet offers his 'effusion' as a gift to his God (cf. Ps. 19 15 [14]). V. 35 is a liturgical addition which most unfortunately intensifies the shadow which our poet allows to fall across his bright visions at vs. 29 and 32. Vs. 29 and 32 express the awe of a deeply religious and sensitive soul who lives in that fear of the Lord which is the beginning of wisdom. V. 35 voices in unfeeling terms the threats of a dogmatic theologian, who deals in fixed, unyielding formulas, unmindful of the vast complexity and infinite pathos of human life.

NOTE ON THE TRANSLATION. It is not my purpose to enter into the more subtle questions of the text of this Psalm. But a few points in the translation should be explained or justified. Square brackets imply emendations. Parentheses are paraphrastic or stylistic developments.

I.

The First and Second Creative Days: Light and Sky.

Gen. 1 1–5, 6–8.

v. 1. 1. Bless the Lord, Oh my soul,
2. Oh,[3] my God, Thou art very great:
3. With majesty and splendor Thou art robed,
v. 2. 4. Veiling Thyself with light as with a mantle;
5. (Who)[4] Stretcheth out the heavens as a tent-curtain,
v. 3. 6. Who buildeth in the (heavenly) waters his reservoirs (for the rain),
7. Who maketh the clouds his chariot,
8. Who marcheth on the wings of the wind;
v. 4. 9. Making the winds his messengers,
10. His ministrants (the lightning's) fire and flame.[5]

[3] Delete the second יהוה.

[4] The question of the insertion or omission of the articles with the various participles in the Psalm is one to which different tastes will supply different answers. Duhm's suggestion that it should be supplied with נוטה is attractive, as the quatrain in lines 5—8 would thus become regular in grammatical structure.

[5] Read וְלַהֲטֵ with Bickell, Cheyne, Duhm, Gunkel, because of the preceding plural.

II.

The Third Creative Day, First Half: Dry Ground.
Gen. 1 9, 10.

v. 5. 1. He hath established the earth upon its bases,
2. That it cannot be moved for ever;
v. 6. 3. The Deep as a garment did cover it,[6]
4. Above the mountains the waters stand;[7]
v. 7. 5. At thy rebuke they flee,
6. At the sound of thy thunder they haste away
v. 8. 7. — (While) mountains rise (and) valleys fall[8] —
8. To the place which Thou hast established for them;
v. 9. 9. A bound has Thou set that they may not cross,
10. That they may not return to cover the earth.

III.

The Third Creative Day, Second Half: Plant Life.
Gen. 1 11–13.

v. 10. 1. Who freeth[9] the fountains in the Wadys,
2. Among the hills they course along;
v. 11. 3. They give drink to all the beasts that roam in freedom,[10]
4. The wild asses slake their thirst,

[6] Possibly read כִּמְּתָה, Duhm, Gunkel, Staerk.

[7] The verbs in lines 4—7 should be translated by presents. The emergence of the dry land from within the Deep, where it had been, as it were, waiting for the Lord's command to come forth, is described as transpiring before the poet's eyes.

[8] יֵרְדוּ. Duhm would strike this out. The three-toned rhythm would thus be conserved, but a most picturesque and beautiful description would be marred. The deletion of line 7 by Briggs and Cobb is most unfortunate. The line is parenthetical (R. V.) and not to be joined with line 8. (A. V., Gunkel, Staerk.)

[9] Compare Job 12 15 where the Pi'el off שלח is antithetic to עצר.

[10] Literally, "all the beasts of the field". The contrast is with the domesticated animals of v. 14.

v. 16. 5. The trees of the Lord are satisfied,
6. The cedars of Lebanon which He hath planted;
v. 17. 7. Where the little birds build their nests,
8. The pious stork homes in the cypress trees,
v. 12. 9. Upon them the birds of heaven perch,[11]
10. (And) forth from the leafy foliage sound their song.

IV.

The Third Creative Day, Second Half: Plant Life Continued.

v. 13. 1. (Who)[12] watereth the mountains from his (heavenly) reservoirs,
2. With Thy mists (?)[13] the earth is satisfied;
v. 14. 3. Making grass to grow for the cattle
4. And herbage for the dumb servitors[14] of man,
5. That they may bring grain forth from the earth;
v. 15. 6. (Making) wine (to grow) that gladdeneth the heart of man,
7. And oil to make his face to shine,
8. And grain to strengthen the heart of man.[15]
v. 18. (9. Tho high mountains are for the wild goats,)
(10. The crags a refuge for the conies.)

[11] For יִשְׁכֹּן in this sense see Ezek. 31 13, cf. 17 23.

[12] Supply article (?); cf. v. 10.

[13] The text very doubtful. The translation accepts מִגְּשָׁמֶיךָ cf. Ps. 135 7, a conjecture offered by Kittel and Staerk, as one among a number of guesses, none of which is convincing.

[14] Read עֲבֹדַת, i. e. service-cattle, parallel to בְּהֵמָה, cf. Gen. 26 14; Job 1 13; Kittel, Ehrlich.

[15] The construction of lines 5—8 is doubtful. The translation follows the solution proposed by Ehrlich, though the difficulties of it are admitted. On the basis of this view lines 3—8 make up two tristichs, the first of them, lines 3—5, referring to the provision for the cattle to enable them to do their work, the second, lines 6—8, referring to the provisions made for man. Ehrlich cites Dt. 11 15; Gen. 24 32 f.; Jd. 19 21 as examples of the care for the domestic animals which characterized Israel.

V.

The Fourth Creative Day: The Celestial Bodies.

Gen. 1 14–19.

v. 19. 1. He made the moon (to rule) the festal seasons,
2. He made the sun[16] to know its setting;
v. 20. 3. Thou makest darkness and so night cometh,
4. Wherein all jungle-beasts creep forth,
v. 21. 5. The young lions roaring for their prey,
6. And seeking from God their food;
v. 22. 7. The sun cometh forth, they slink away,
8. And in their dens they crouch,
v. 23. 9. (Then) Men go forth to their work,
10. And to their labour until the even-tide.

VI.

The Fifth Creative Day: Marine Life.

Gen. 1 20–23.

v. 24. 1. How manifold are Thy works, Oh Lord,
2. All of them in wisdom hast Thou made,
3. The earth is full of Thy creatures;
v. 25. 4. Yonder Sea vast and broad-expanding —
5. There are gliding things,[17] yea, without number,
6. Living things[17] both small and great;
v. 26. 7. There terrific (monsters)[18] (?) move about[19]
8. Leviathan whom Thou hast formed to sport with;
v. 27. 9. All of them put their hope in Thee,
10. To grant their food in its (due) season.

[16] Read Pi'el with Aquila and Theod.; cf. Job 38 12. So Duhm, Gunkel, Staerk.

[17] רמש and חיות are here used of sea-life with clear allusion to Gen. 1 21. Vs. 24-26 have to do with marine life of the fifth day of creation.

[18] Read אימות with Gunkel, Kittel and Staerk, and cf. Job 41 6 39 20, as a possible solution of the difficult אניות. While the supposition that the poet is here thinking of ships as living creatures no doubt furnishes,

VII.

God's Providence.

Gen. 1 29–31.

v. 28. 1. Thou givest them, they gather up,
2. Thou openest Thy hand, they have their fill of good;
v. 29. 3. Thou hidest Thy face, they are confounded,
4. Thou withdrawest their breath, they expire,
5. And to their dust return;
v. 30. 6. Thou sendest forth Thy breath, they are created,
7. And Thou renewest Nature's face.

EPILOGUE

A

Let the Lord rejoice in His works.

Cf. Gen. 1 31.

v. 31. 1. Let the glory of the Lord be forever,
2. Let the Lord rejoice in His works;
v. 32. 3. Who needeth but look upon the earth and it trembleth,
4. Who needeth but touch the mountains and they smoke.

in itself, a very beautiful and poetic thought, it seems hazardous to make it in the present connection. It is true that Khuenaten's Hymn to the Solar Disk (see Breasted's Translation in Petrie's *History of Egypt in the XVIIth and XVIIIth Dynasties*, p. 215 ff.) with which our Psalm has so much in common, also introduces the ships; but there the introduction of them is perfectly natural. The question of the literary dependance of Ps. 104 upon the Egyptian hymn opens up perplexing but most interesting possibilities.

19 The Pi'el of this verb seems to be used especially in poetry, and I have therefore ventured to translate it in various ways suitable to the connection at vs. 3, 10 and 26.

B

The Poet will rejoice in the Lord.

v. 33. 1. I will sing to the Lord while I live,
2. I will make melody to my God while I still breathe;[20]
v. 34. 3. Let (this) meditation[21] of mine be sweet unto Him,
4. I, yea I, will rejoice in the Lord.

Liturgical additions.

v. 35. 1. Let the sinners be utterly consumed out of the earth,
2. And wicked men be no more.
1. Bless the Lord, Oh my soul.

[20] Literally, while I still am.

[21] שיח alludes to the preceding poem just as הגיון does at Ps. 19 15 (14).

Postscript. A colleague of mine has suggested to me the possibility that the seventh stanza may include a delicate allusion to the creation of man. Compare line 6 with the *idea* in Gen. 2 7; also line 5 with Gen. 3 19. This would relieve, somewhat, the difficulty caused by the omission of the last creative act. But it would imply a use of the second creation story of which there is no indication in the rest of the Psalm.

AN ARAMAIC FRAGMENT OF THE WISDOM OF SOLOMON

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THE Apocryphal Books left relatively few traces in Jewish literature. Still there is evidence that some of the books at least were current in Spain in the 12th and 13th centuries in Syriac texts transcribed into Hebrew characters.[1] Of such transliterations of a book of the Peshiṭa we have a much earlier specimen in the so called Targum on Proverbs. Of the Apocryphal Books only one small text of the kind has come down to us in tolerable completeness, namely, the story of Bel and the Dragon which has been published by Neubauer as an appendix to the *Book of Tobit, a Chaldee text*, Oxford 1878.[2]

[1] Under this category we cannot count the quotation from the Peshiṭa on Psalms which Ibn Aḳnin in his commentary on Canticles mentions in the name of Maṣliaḥ ben El-Basaḳ. The latter had been sent by the Gaon Hai to inquire from the Catholicos how his Syriac version translated Psalm 141 5. The reading given משחא דרשיעי לא עכי רישיה (Neubauer, *Notice sur la Lexicographie Hébraique*, p. 168, 171) was evidently gathered from a Syriac copy in the possession of the Catholicos. The reading of the word עכי Neubauer declares doubtful. Steinschneider reads it עד and Geiger, *Jüdische Zeitschrift*, II, 1863, p. 152—3, note **, corrects it into נד; our Peshiṭa reads ܡܫܚܐ ܕܪܫܝܥܐ ܠܐ ܢܕܗܢ (*The Peshitah Psalter*, ed. Barnes, Cambridge 1904, p. 215).

Steinschneider does not mention these references to the Peshiṭa in his collection of quotations from the Vulgate and other Christian translations, *Monatsschrift für Geschichte und Wissenschaft des Judenthums*, vol. 37, Breslau 1893, p. 230—231.

[2] Compare Nöldeke, *Monatsberichte der Berliner Akademie*, 1879, p. 64.

Naḥmanides knew similar texts of the book of Judith and the Wisdom of Solomon. Of the former he has a quotation (chap. 1 7, 8, 11) which he curiously ascribes to a Susanna Scroll. He says in his commentary on Deuteronomy 21 14[3]:

כמו שכתוב במגלת שושן ושדר מלכא דאתור על כולהון עמוריא דנינוה ועל כל דעמרין על יד ימא ועל עמורא דכרמלא ודגלעד ואהפיכו פתגמא דנכוכד נצר כולהון עמורייא דארעא ולא תדחלון מיניה.

[7]ܡܥܒ ܕܚܣܝܪ ܡܠܟܐ ܘܐܫܕܪ
ܠܟܠ ܡܠܟܝ ܚܣܬܐ ܘܠܟܠ.
... ܡܠܟܐ ܡܠ ܘܚܕܐ ܠܟܠ ܡ
ܐܢ. [8]ܡܠܟ ܚܣܬܐ ܘܥܡܠ
ܣ[11] ..... ܗܦܟܗ
ܥܠ ܟܠ ܘܠܚܣܝܪ ܡܠܟܐ
ܡܠܟܝ ܚܣܬܗ ܘܐܫܕ . . .
ܠܐ ܘܡܢܗ ܡܢܗ.

Of the Wisdom of Solomon Naḥmanides offers a more extended quotation (chapter 7 5–8, 17–21) in the introduction to his commentary[4]:

וראיתי הספר המתורגם[5] הנקרא חכמתא רבא דשלמה וכתוב בו ולא ממתום הות תולדתא חדיתא למלך או לשליט דחדיו מעלנא דכל נש לעלמא ומפקאנא שויאת

[5]ܠ ܡܢ ܡܬܬܪܓܡ ܗܘ ܕܟܬܝܒ
ܫܡܗ ܚܟܡܬܐ ܕܫܠܡܘܢ ܘܟ[6]ܡ ܘܠ
ܡܢ ܡܬܡ ܗܘ ܬܘܠܕܬܗ ܕܚܕܬܐ.
ܡ ܠܡܠܟ ܐܘ ܠܫܠܝܛ ܕܚܕܘܗܝ.
ܡܥܠܢ ܠܥܠܡܐ ܘܡ. [7]ܟܠ ܘܠ

[3] I quote from a beautiful fifteenth century MS. of the Seminary Library compared with the three incunabula editions going back to different MSS., Rome before 1480, Lisbon 1489, Naples 1490. Compare Brüll, *Jahrbücher für Jüdische Geschichte und Literatur*, Frankfurt a. M. 1877, vol. iii, p. 6, note 12. The Syriac is found in Lagarde's edition, *Libri Veteris Testamenti Apocryphi Syriace*, Leipzig 1861, p. 104–5, and Ceriani's photolithographic reproduction of the Ambrosianus, fol. 218 recto.

[4] According to Wolf, *Bibliotheca Hebrea*, Hamburg 1715, vol. i, p. 1047, Muhlius reprinted a corrected text of this passage according to a MS. His book however is inaccessible to me. I follow Ceriani fol. 139 verso in the Syriac text which in a few minutiae agrees more closely with Naḥmanides' version than Lagarde.

[5] Grimm, *Das Buch der Weisheit erklärt*, Leipzig 1860, p. 9, understands this word to mean "translated" instead of "written in Aramaic" as Voisin rightly put it (*Observationes*, in Raymund Martini, Pugio Fidei, Leipzig 1687, p. 126); "vidi librum Caldaice descriptum." See the text quoted in note 7.

חדיו מטול כן צלית ואתיהיבת לי רוחא דחכמתא וקרית ואתת לי רוחא דאידעתא צבית בה יתיר מן שבטא וכורסוותא (אמר כי לא מדבר תהיה תולדת מיוחדת למלך או לשליט אחד הוא ביאת כל איש לעולם ויציאה שוה לכלם יחד ובעבור כן התפללתי ונתן לי רוח חכמה וקראתי ובא לי רוח דעת בחרתי בה יותר מן השבט והכסא) ונאמר שם והוא דיהב אדעתא דלא לגלותא למידע היכן קם עלמא ועובדיהון דמזאלתא שוריא ושולמא ומציעתהון דזבני שולחפי דזנבותא ודהיכן עבדי זבני ריהטהון דשמיא וקבעיהון דכוכבא מתנא דבעירא וחימתא דחיותא עזויהון דרוחי ומחשבתהון דבני נשא גינסי דנצבתא וחיליהון דעקרי כל מדם דכסי וכל מדם דגלי ידעית.

The last verses Naḥmanides quotes again in a lecture delivered in the Synagogue at Barcelona about 1265[6]:

כמו שאמר שלמה המלך עליו השלום בספר הנקרא חוכמתא רבתא דשלמה ששם כתב והוא בידע אירעתא דנא בגלותא למידע היכן קם עלמא ועובדיהון דמזלותא שוריא ושוליתא ומציעתהון דזבניה

[6] Jellinek, *Rabbi Mose ben Nachman's Dissertation über die Vorzüge der Mosaischen Lehre*, gehalten in der Synagoge zu Barcelona. Zweite Ausgabe, Wien, 1872, p. 22. The passage is not found in the earlier editions and was first published from a MS. by Schorr, *He-Chalutz*, vol. viii, p. 158. The text is very corrupt and is only given here for the sake of completeness.

שולחפניה דזבדותא וד . . . . . עברין זנבי ריהטיהון דשמיא וקבעיהון דכוכבי, מתנא דבעירא וחמתא דחניאתא עוזיהון רוחי ומחשבתהון דבני נשא גינזי דנציבתא וחיליהון דעיקרי כל מידם נכסי וכל מידם דגלי דמות.

We find a more interesting reference to the book of Wisdom in another lecture of Naḥmanides dealing with Ecclesiastes which he delivered in Gerona 1266 or 1267 shortly before he left Spain to settle in Palestine.[7] Here he gives us a clear statement of his opinion of this book and the reason of its non-inclusion in the Canon. Of the authenticity of the book he evidently has not the least doubt. After speaking of the three Solomonic writings of the Bible he continues: "We find another book called The Great Wisdom of Solomon which is written in difficult Aramaic and the Christians have translated it from that language. I believe that this book was not arranged by the Men of Hezekiah, the king of Judah,[8] but that it went with the Jews to Babylon orally and there they fixed it in their language, for it only contains sayings of wisdom and has not been written by inspiration."

I doubt whether on the basis of these references one is justified in making the sweeping statement[9] that "the Syriac version of the Apocrypha, transcribed in Hebrew characters, was known among the Jews in Spain."

But in Spain undoubtedly several Aramaic texts were current under the name of Solomon, and in the Zohar we find various references to such books. In one instance the Zohar quotes a passage which is ascribed expressly to the Book of Wisdom of Solomon but which probably belongs to a different circle of literature. The passage runs thus:

[7] דרשת הרמב"ן על דברי קהלת, ed. A. Z. Schwartz, Vienna 1913, p. 9: ומצינו עוד ספר שנקרא חכמתא רבתא דשלמה והוא בלשון תרגום חמור מאד והגוים העתיקו[הו] מן הלשון ההוא ואני חושב שלא העתיקוהו אנשי הזקיהו מלך יהודה אלא ירד עמהם לבבל על פה ושם אמרוהו בלשונם כי היו חכמות ולא נאמר ברוח הקודש.

[8] Comp. Proverbs 25 1.

[9] Neubauer, *The Book of Tobit*, Oxford 1878, p. xiv. On the other hand, Dukes' hypothesis, *Rabbinische Blumenlese*, Leipzig 1844, p. 33, that Naḥmanides became acquainted with the Syriac text of Wisdom in Palestine turns out to be unfounded.

בספרא דחכמתא דשלמה מלכא הכי אמר תלת סימנין אינון. סימן לעברה ירקון. סימן לשטות מילין. סימן דלא ידע כלום שבוחי.

"A sign for anger is paleness, a sign of foolishness is talk, and a sign of ignorance — boasting".[10]

Two quotations from the Wisdom of Solomon which occur in the Zohar Ḥadash are even more foreign in subject-matter to our Wisdom. The first[11] runs thus:

דהכי אשכחן בספרא דחכמתא דשלמא מלכא ואלין ארבע כד מתכנפי בכינופייא במטלניהון משתמעי בכל רקיעא קל מטלניהון כקל מלאכין סגיאין עילאין (דאתקרון) אלף אלפין ורבו רבבן וכההוא קלא דהוא שמשא חד דמשמש קמיה דמלכא עילאה וההוא כנופייא דאינון מתכנפי בעידנא (דאתי) לאשפעה אליהון טיבו יקר מכלהון.

(For thus we find in the book of the Wisdom of Solomon:) "And when these four (the חיות of Ezekiel) gather together in their journeys, the noise of their journey is heard in the whole heaven like the voice of many of the high angels who are called (Daniel 7 10) 'thousand thousands and ten thousand times ten thousand' and like the voice of the one servant who serves before the high king. And this gathering of theirs at the time when he is going to make goodness emanate upon them is the most important of all of them."

The second[12] is:

ותנינן בספרא דהכמתא רבה דשלמה שמא דשמיטא מטול שזיפא קרעני דמלכא קושטיזא דאטיל ביה בחתמא זעירתא למשלטא תחותוי.

10 Zohar, Numbers, fol. 193 b. Zunz, *Gesammelte Schriften*, I, Berlin 1875, p. 13, note, translates the first part "blasse Farbe ist ein Zeichen der Sünde", but the above translation seems more in keeping with the context, in spite of the parallel in the Babylonian Talmud, Shabbat 33a end, to which my colleague Dr. Ginzberg drew my attention.

11 Zohar Ḥadash on Gen. 1 9, Salonica 1597, fol. 19 b. The words in brackets are added in later editions.

12 *ib.* on Gen. 2 7, fol. 32 b seq. The late Dr. Kotkov suggested to me to correct the impossible קרעני into קרוטא, the Syriac ܩܪܘܛܐ (see J. Payne Smith, *Compendious Syriac Dictionary*, Oxford 1903, p. 518) and קושטיזא into קשטרא which, he thinks, stands as an equivalent for the Sefira Hekal.

32b—33a Gen. 2 7. (And we learn in the Book of the Great Wisdom of Solomon:) "It is the divine name Shemita which, on account of the dark ink, the king, the castle puts on the small seal to give him rule under it."

These two passages evidently are derived from a Cabbalistic book which may be identical with the ספרא דשלמא מלכא repeatedly quoted in the Zohar. For the sake of completeness I add these passages in a foot note.[13]

[13] See the list in Zunz, *l. c.*, Steinschneider, *Bodleian Catalogue*, p. 2288.

A. Zohar I, fol. 7 b:

(אשכחנא בספרא דשלמה מלכא) שמא גליפא דשבעין ותרין שמהן אגליף עלוי בתבין ובנין דאתוון באלפא ביתא דאגליף בה אבוי בקדמיתא כד מית פרחו מניה והשתא דאלישע חבק ליה אגליף ביה כל אינון אתוון דשבעין ותרין שמהן ואתוון דאילין שבעין ותרין שמהן גליפן אינון מאתן ושיתסרי אתוון וכולהו אתוון אגליף ברוחיה דאלישע בנין לקימא ליה באתוון דשבעין ותרין שמהן וקרא ליה חבקוק.

(In connection with the son of the Shunnamite we find in the book of King Solomon:) "The engraved divine name of 72 names he engraved upon him in the form of words, for the letters of the alphabet which his father had engraved upon him originally had disappeared when he died. Now when Elisha embraced him he engraved all these letters of the 72 names, and the letters of these 72 names which are engraved are 262 letters and all of these letters were engraved by the breath of Elisha in order to revive him with the letters of the 72 names and he called him Habakkuk."

B. *ib.* 13 b:

רזא דנן חמינן בספרא דשלמה מלכא דכל מאן דחס על מסכני ברעותא דלבא לא משתני דיוקניה לעלם מדיוקנא דאדם הראשון וכיון דדיוקנא דאדם אתרשים ביה שליט על כל בריין דעלמא בההוא דיוקנא הדא הוא דכתיב ומוראכם ותתכם יהיה על כל חית הארץ וגו' כלהו זעין ודחלין מההוא דיוקנא דאתרשים ביה בנין דדא הוא פקודא מעליא לאסתלקא בר נש בדוקניה דאדם על כל שאר פקודין מנא לן מנבוכדנצר אף על גב דחלם ההוא חלמא כל זמנא דהוה מיתן למסכני לא שרא עליה כיון דאמיל עינא בישא למיתן למסכני מה כתיב עוד מלתא בפום מלכא וגו' מיד אשתני דיוקניה ואטריד מן בני נשא.

(This secret we see in the book of King Solomon:) "Whosoever takes pity on the poor whole-heartedly, his countenance will never be changed from the likeness of Adam, and when the countenance of Adam is marked upon him he rules over all the creatures of the world by the power of countenance; that is the meaning of the words 'and the fear of you and the dread of you shall be upon every beast of the earth' etc. (Genesis 9 2). They all fear and tremble before this image which is marked on him. For this law (viz. charity) more than any other law helps to bring men into the likeness of Adam. How do we know that? from Nebuchadnezzar; although he dreamt that dream, as long as he took pity on the poor, it did not come upon him. When he looked with an evil eye upon giving

What freedom the Cabbalists permitted themselves in making up "quotations" from the Wisdom of Solomon can best be seen from the Apocalypse prophesying the movement of Sabbatai

alms to the poor then the Bible says (Daniel 4 28), 'To thee it is spoken' etc., at once his countenance changed and he was driven away from men.

The same quotation is found in a Hebrew translation in Meir Ibn Gabbai, תולעת יעקב, in the chapter on the Sukkah as taken from the Book of Solomon's Great Wisdom, ספרא דחכמתא רבתא דשלמה מלכא. See Chones' note in his edition of Abraham ben Elijah Wilna, רב פעלים, Warsaw 1894, p. 63—64.

C. *ib.* I appendix 2 b:

הכי אולפנא בספרא דשלמה מלכא דבליליא בתראה דחנא אי יסתכל בר נש בצלמא דיליה וחזי ליה שלים לא אתגזר עלוי מיתה.

(We are thaught in the book of King Solomon:) "If on the last night of the Feast of Tabernacles one looks at one's shadow and sees it complete, death has not been decreed upon him for that year."

D. *ib.* vol. II, 67 a:

אשכחנא בספרא דשלמה מלכא דכל מאן דארים ידוי לעילא ולא אינון בצלותין ובעותין האי איהו בר נש דאתלטייא מעשרה שלטנין ממנן ואנון עשרה שליטין אשר היו בעיר.

(We find in the book of King Solomon:) "Whoever raises his hand upward but not in prayer and devotion he is a man who is cursed by the ten rulers appointed and they are the 'ten rulers that are in a city' (Ecclesiastes 7 19)."

E. *ib.* 125 a—b:

רזא דספרא דשלמה מלכא . . תו אשכחן דכל מאן דאכיל היא מכלא דאתחבר כחדא או בשעתא חדא או בסעודתא חדא ארבעין יומין אתחזיא גדיא מקלסא בקלפוי לגבי אינון דלעילא וסייעתא מסאבא מתקרבין בהדיה וגרים לאתערא דינין בעלמא דינין דלא קדישין ואי אוליד בר באינון יומין אוזפין ליה נשמתא מסטרא אחרא דלא אצטריכא.

(We find in the book of King Solomon:) "Whoever partakes of such food either mixed (of milk and meat) together, or at the same time or at one meal, for 40 days there appears a kid with a helmet on its skin perceptible only to those above (angels) and a company of the Unholy Side approach him and he thus provokes visitations upon the world, unholy visitations, and if he begets a son during this time they lend him a soul from the Other Side (that of impurity . . .)."

גדי מקולם is the technical term for a kid roasted in its entirety with entrails and lungs on its head like a helmet.

F. *ib.* 139 a:

בספרא דשלמה מלכא אית גו האי מזבח הנחשת דקאמרן רזין עלאין.

In the book of King Solomon there are in reference to this altar of brass secrets about the higher world.

G. *ib.* III, 10 b:

בספרא דשלמה מלכא אמר מכוון די' בקטורא דתלתא דכלילן בקטרא דגופיה חד דחילו דכלא חד סתים שבילין חד נהר עמיקא.

Zevi which was written by the Constantinople preacher Abraham Jakhini and circulated by Sabbatai's prophet Nathan of Gaza as an old quotation from the "Book of the great Wisdom of

(In the book of King Solomon he says:) "The meaning of the Yod with three knots which are contained in its own knot, is one the most awful one (the Sefira Keter), one of hidden paths (the 32 Paths of Wisdom), one of the deep river (the Sefira Binah)."

The text is partly corrected according to a quotation in Meir Ibn Gabbai, דרך אמונה, Berlin 1850, fol. 10 a; בקטורא, is a correction suggested by the late Dr. Kotkov for בקטפורא and בקוטפין respectively; to him I also owe the interpretation of the Sefiroth.

H. *ib.* 65 b:

ואשכחנא בספרא דשלמה מלכא אשר בקיטורא דעדינא [ו]קסטירא בחברותא עלאה אשתכח.

(And we find in the book of King Solomon:) "The word Asher (אשר) alludes to the combination of the Eden and the Castle in a celestial union."

I. *ib.* 104 a—b:

בספרא דשלמה מלכא אשתכחנא דבשעתא דזווגא אשתכח לתתא שדר קב"ה חד דיוקנא כפרצופא דבר נש רשימא חקיקא בצולמא וקיימא על ההוא זווגא ואלמלא אתיהיב רשו לעינא למחזי חמי בר נש על רישיה חד צולמא רשימא כפרצופא דבר נש ובההוא צולמא אתברי בר נש ועד לא קיימא ההוא צולמא דשדר ליה מאריה על רישיה וישתכח תמן לא אתברי בר נש הדא הוא דכתיב ויברא ה' את האדם בצלמו ההוא צלם אורמן לקבליה עד דנפיק לעלמא.

(In the book of King Solomon we find:) "At the time when copulation takes place below, the Lord sends a form like unto the face of a man impressed and engraven in an image, and it hovers over this union, and if the power were given to the eye to see, a man would see over his head an image formed like unto the face of men. By this image man is formed, and when this image which the master sends does not hover over his head and is not found there, man is not formed. This is what the Bible means (Genesis 1 27) 'and God created man in his own image'. This image precedes his entrance into the world".

J. *ib.* 164 a:

בספרא דשלמה מלכא איהו כדקא יאות והכי הוא אדם וחוה בקדמיתא ושרה ואברהם סמיך לון יצחק ורבקה לזויא אחרא באורח מישר בשורה חדא יעקב ולאה באמצעיתא ואינון נשין לגבי נשין ודכורין לגבי דכורין ואדם וחוה שרה ואברהם יעקב ולאה רבקה ויצחק אדם בסטרא דא ויצחק בסטרא דא ויעקב באמצעיתא יצחק לגבי אבוה לאו ארח עלמא.

(In the book of King Solomon the order in which the patriarchs are buried in the cave of Machpelah is given as it ought to be and is this way.) "Adam and Eve first, Sarah and Abraham next to them, Isaac and Rebekkah in the other corner of the straight line in the same row. Jacob and Leah in the middle. Thus women are next to women and men next to men: Adam and Eve, Sarah and Abraham, Jacob and Leah, Rebekkah and Isaac. Adam on the one side and Isaac on the other and Jacob in the middle. Isaac next to his father would not be according to propriety."

Solomon" which he had discovered.[14] It begins: I Abraham, having been in seclusion for 40 years and being worried by the power of the great crocodile which dwells in the Nile and wondering when the end would arrive, heard a voice calling: Lo! a son will be born to Mordecai Zevi in the year 5386 (1626) and he shall call his name Sabbatai. He will humiliate the great crocodile and take away the power of the flying snake and of the crooked snake and he is the true Messiah and he will make war without hands until the donkey will mount the ladder . . .

The quotations from the Book of Wisdom which I propose to discuss here are quite different in their character from all those mentioned before and I think are much more interesting in many respects. They are found in a commentary on the Zohar which was written in Spain, perhaps in Saragossa, in 1325 and has the title לבנת הספיר (Pavement of Sapphire). According to G. Margoliouth[15] the author is Joseph Angelino.

K. Besides these quotations we find in I 225 b a reference to the book of King Solomon, the book which treats of the higher world which he calls the all-inclusive wisdom.
אשכחנא מלי בכפרא דשלמה מלכא ההוא עלאה דקרא ליה עיטא דחכמתא דכלא and III 78 b to the ספרא עלאה דשלמה for the divine names found in the crown.

L. Finally a quotation belonging to a different kind of book occurs in II, 171 b—172 a.
כנוונא דא רמיז בספרא דשלמה מלכא בחכמתא דאבנין יקירן דאי חסר מנהון גנהא דנציצו או להיטו דכככין ידיעין לא מגדלין ולא מתתקנין לון לעלמין.
(Similarly it is hinted in the book of King Solomon where it treats of the science of the precious stones) that if the shine of the spark and glow of certain stars are missing in them they will never grow and develop.

M. A hidden Book of King Solomon, ספרא גניזא דשלמה מלכא, is quoted II 70 a as source of a treatise on physiogonomy; see Steinschneider, *Die Hebräischen Übersetzungen des Mittelalters*, Berlin 1893, p. 971, note 135.

In the interpretation of these passages I have consulted my colleagues Dr. Ginzberg and the late Dr. Kotkov. It is a source of regret that the very important study on the Zohar has been interrupted by Dr. Kotkov's untimely death.

[14] The prophecy is printed in full in Jacob Sasportas קצור ציצת נובל צבי, Odessa 1867, fol. 13 a and b and, from MS. Oxford 1777, by David Kahana in *Hashiloaḥ*, II, 327—28; תולדות המקבלים השבתאים והחסידים, Odessa 1913, p. 61—62.

[15] *Cat. of the Hebrew and Samaritan MS. in the British Museum*, iii, 1915, p. 71—74.

This book of which only a few MSS. are known was published for the first time in Jerusalem in 1913. The edition covers Genesis and the greater part of Exodus. The British Museum MS. contains Genesis and Leviticus. Here I found the following two quotations which while not likely to have been derived from an authentic text of the Wisdom of Solomon seem to me without doubt to go back to some old Apocryphal text. The author adds the Hebrew translation to the Aramaic text. One of the passages occurs folio 6 a of the edition on Genesis 1 12. It reads:

שמצאתי בספר חכמתא רבתי דשלמה ששנינו שם מייתי מן שאול תקים דאיתקטלו על רחמיך, מייתי מן שאול תקים בגבורתך ה׳, מייתי מן שאול תקים דהימנו בך ואזלו מיתין, מייתי מן שאול תקים ותחיה דצפיאו לך ולא חזונך חיי מן רחיק תייתי בגזירת דמחיית לן כספיהון ודהביהון עמהון.

(I found in the book of the Great Wisdom of Solomon, where we read:) "The dead thou revivest from Sheol who have been killed for the love of thee; the dead thou revivest from Sheol by thy power, o Lord! the dead thou revivest from Sheol who hoped for thee and saw thee not; bring life from afar by the order of him who reviveth us, their silver and their gold is with them".

The last sentence is not at all clear and the text no doubt has been corrupted. The author interprets the four repetitions to refer to those who were killed during the Egyptian exile and the Babylonian exile adding in this instance the word "who have been killed" so that the sentence would read "the dead thou revivest from Sheol who have been killed for the sake of thy power" instead of "the dead thou revivest from Sheol by thy power". The third sentence he refers to those who were killed during the Hasmonean struggle and the fourth to the Roman exile.

The pronounced belief in resurrection contained in these sentences we find also in the longer and more interesting quotation which occurs a little earlier in our book (fol. 5 a on Genesis 1 5). It sounds like a Messianic psalm and, as the author

informs us, formed the end of the book of the Wisdom of Solomon.[16]

וכן מוכח בסוף ספר חכמתא רבתי דשלמה וזה לשונו טאבוי לעמא[a] דישרי בה[b] בירושלם דטאבותהון לא יפסוק ויקריהון לא אשתלים ולא תעדי מלכותהון זיהון לא יעמי ולא יחשך נהוריהון מלכותיהון קיימא ושלטניהון לכל עלמין עמא דכדין[c] תוקפיה מה יאה ליה גאותיה מה רגיג[d] שופריה והדיר הוא ושביח לחדא לחדא שביק חטאה לחטייא[e] וחובין[f] כבדין עדו[g] בהקרבא לך קורבנא דכייא בתרעיתא דירושלם משבחין דרייא קדמאי ובתראי לא נשתקון אודין ליה לגיברא[h] ושבחוהי בכל פומכון דאפיק לן[i] מן חשוך סגיא ואנהור לן[i] בנהור עלמא דאפיק לן מן בית אסירי ותבר כבלינן ואיסורינן אקים לן מן עפרא לרבותא סגיאה אמטי לן מיתינן מן שאול אקים סהדי לעללי עלמא אתחדתו פגריהון דבגבורתיה[k] עבדוהי לייחדא[l] כולהון יהודן ליה יומם ולילא ולא ישתקון דחדית לן ואקים לן ויקר סגיאה אלביש לן אסגיא עלאן[m] מן טוביה ושזיב לן בצדקותיה רבתא נודה ליה לגיברא דלבר מיניה לית לן ע"כ לשון הספר.

[a] B לעלמא [b] B adds פי' בירושלם דבר למעלה [c] J דהדין [d] J רניז [e] B הוא מכפר חטאין [f] B ועויין [g] B adds מנהון [h] B לאלהא רבא גיברא [i] B לכון [k] J דבגבארותיה [l] B לחדא [m] B עילון.

(And this is evident from the end of the book of the Great Wisdom of Solomon which speaks thus:) "Blessed are the people who died in Jerusalem, whose blessedness will not end, and their honor will not cease; their kingdom will not be removed, their splendor not be dimmed and their light not be darkened; their kingdom is ever lasting, and their rule is for all times. A people whose strength is thus, how fitting for it is its pride, how agreeable its beauty. It is honored and praised very much; sin is forgiven the sinner and weighty offences they remove by

[16] Margoliouth gives the page of the British Museum MS. (14 a) on which this passage occurs. I procured a rotograph of this page of the MS. which is referred to among the Variae lectiones under the text with B while J refers to the Jerusalem edition. The beginning of the quotation in another MS. Catalogue Schwager and Fraenkel XI, Husiatin 1906, p. 71, No. 446, literally agrees with B.

sacrificing unto Thee pure sacrifices in the gates of Jerusalem. The early generations praise and the latter are not silent; they acknowledge the Lord, praise Him with all their mouth, Him who brought us out of great darkness and enlightened us by the eternal light, who brought us out of the house of prison and broke our fetters and shackles, and He raised us from the dust, to great glory He brought us, our dead from Sheol He raised as witness unto those who come into the world, renewed are the bodies of them who served His might alone; they all praise Him by day and remain not silent by night, for He gave us joy, and He established us, and with great honor He clothed us, He did much good unto us and saved us in His great charity, let us praise the Almighty, for beside Him we have none".

This text is interesting in more than one respect. It proves that it cannot have formed part of the Apocryphal Wisdom of Solomon. The attitude of this book to the belief in resurrection is still a matter of dispute. But it surely cannot have contained an unequivocal formulation of the belief in resurrection of the body from Sheol such as we find in our fragment. The brief reference to the sacrifices in the gates of Jerusalem sound as if the author wrote at a time when the temple was still in existence. If he had written after the destruction, the hope of restoration would in all likelihood have been included in his picture of the Messianic times. The Aramaic text undoubtedly is a translation from the Greek, for we find repeatedly גבראא as a name of God. Now Gibbor, while used frequently as an attribute of God, never, to my knowledge, occurs independently. It is, however, the equivalent of the Greek *ἰσχυρός* which in Aquila, as Dr. Reider has shown in his *Prolegomena to an Index to Aquila*, p. 30, is the regular translation for El. It is sometimes used in the same way by the Septuagint, see also the Apocalypse of Abraham, chapter 8. The Aramaic is not of a uniform character but here later corruption by copyists is to be expected. The larger piece according to the statement of our commentator is taken from the end of the book and the possibility cannot be overlooked that an extraneous piece might have been added at the end of a copy of the Wisdom at some time or other; but no such information is given about the shorter quotation

mentioned before.[17] The possibility therefore remains that we have before us the remnant of an unknown apocryphal book equally ascribed to Solomon. The Messianic conclusion found in the last chapter of the Psalms of Solomon is quite different from our passage.

Perhaps some one more familiar with this literature can point out parallels elsewhere and define the proper place of our fragment. It certainly is an interesting remnant of apocryphal literature.

[17] A third reference, fol. 54 a of the edition, does not quote any text of the Wisdom.

THE DATE OF EZEKIEL 45 1–8a AND 47 13—48 35

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IN a paper read before this society and published in JBL vol. XXXIV (1915) I discussed Ezekiel 40—48, reaching the conclusion that these chapters are the work of two principal authors, or possibly more, and belonged to the Greek period, with a suggestion of the possibility of the Maccabean period for the first part. The present discussion of the date of 45 1–8a and 47 13—48 35 is intended as a supplement to that earlier paper.

45 1–8, although separated from 47 13—48 35, deals with the same thought, the distribution of the land of Palestine among the twelve tribes, a thought not elsewhere treated in chs. 40—48. This distribution of the land contains various striking features. The territory of the priests, the Levites and the prince is of fixed extent and located in the approximate center of the land, surrounding the sanctuary. There is no occupation of the land east of the Jordan; it is not even mentioned. The land not occupied by the city of Jerusalem, the sanctuary, the priests, the Levites and the prince is divided among the tribes, twelve aside from Levi, each of these having a strip of territory extending from the east to the west of Palestine, its dimensions not being stated. The order of arrangement of the tribes differs in several particulars from that of the original possession of Palestine. Neither does it correspond to the actual possession at any Old Testament period, the only variation from the original order recorded in the historical books being that Dan removed from a

position in the south to the extreme north. It is the variant order of the tribes here given which seems especially strange. No nearer approach to a reason for this has been given, so far as I am aware, than that suggested by A. B. Davidson in the Cambridge Bible: "It is perhaps accidental that the children of Leah and Rachel occupy the centre, while the sons of the handmaids are placed at the extremities", surely hardly an adequate reason.

It seems to me that such a changed division of the land must have had some basis in the historical background of the writer, not simply a background which would allow it, as at the return from the exile, but which would indicate some of the definite changes. I wish to suggest a background which seems to me to fulfil these conditions.

The first evident fact concerning the changed distribution of the tribes is that those east of the Jordan are accomodated in the region west of the Jordan. Another fact is not less striking, that Issachar and Zebulon, which had occupied the general region known as Galilee, are changed to a position in the south of the land.

During the time of Judas Maccabeus, somewhat after the rededication of the temple in 165, expeditions headed by Judas and others went to the region east of the Jordan and to Galilee to rescue the Jews who were being attacked by their Gentile neighbors, those regions having at that time a predominance of Gentile inhabitants. Both expeditions resulted in delivering the Jews, but in both cases the situation was regarded as so dangerous that the Jews were collected and carried back to Judea, thus giving up those districts as Jewish territory. This historical situation is sufficient to account for the abandonment in these chapters of Ezekiel of the territory east of the Jordan and of Galilee, the abandonment of the latter being left to be implied by the transfer of the tribes of Issachar and Zebulon from their former location in Galilee to the south of the land.

But how could room be secured for these tribes? That came somewhat later. In the year 129, under John Hyrcanus, Edom or Idumea, occupying the south of Palestine and with which war had previously been waged by the Maccabeans, was fully

conquered and made to submit to circumcision, thus becoming, in a formal sense at least, incorporated with the Jews. In the preceding year, 130, John Hyrcanus fought with the Samaritans and defeated them, capturing the city of Shechem and destroying the temple on Mount Gerizim. Thit act might readily have been regarded as destroying the separate identity, especially the religious identity, of the Samaritans and incorporating them with the Jews.

It is after 129, then, that we find the further element in the background needed for these chapters of Ezekiel.

The time of John Hyrcanus was one of the most prosperous, perhaps the most prosperous, in the Maccabean period. He was probably the first to put his name on his coins, he ruled over an extensive territory, and his reign after 129 was largely peaceful. The writer of the Testament of the Twelve Patriarchs, in this time, evidently considered John Hyrcanus to be the Messiah, even though he was of the tribe of Levi. Whether he attempted any new division of the land is not known. There is, however, a record in Josephus, Ant., xiii, 10, 2, that he colonized some Idumeans in Samaria. Quite possibly he settled Jews, it might be some of those brought in by Judas, in Idumea and Samaria. Or it may be that the scheme presented in these chapters of Ezekiel is purely ideal. If ideal, however, it has a basis in the historical situation, the essence of the plan being that the tribes withdrawn from eastern Palestine and Galilee are to be settled in Idumea and Samaria. The half tribe of Manasseh from the east is of course united with the half in western Palestine. Reuben is put in the territory of Samaria. This is the most prominent position given to any of the tribes that are brought in, and may be due to the traditional prominence of Reuben as the tribe descended from the firstborn of Jacob. South of Simeon, in the conquered territory of Idumea, are put the other tribes, Issachar, Zebulon and Gad, their arrangement apparently not being governed by any definite principle.

It should also be noted that Dan, most naturally, remains in the territory it had won in the extreme north of Palestine. Judah and Benjamin are transposed. The reason for this is purely conjectural, a natural reason suggested by the circum-

stances, however, is that Judah, being actually the principal part of the nation, is put on the north of the temple as a defence in the direction of the great enemy, Syria. The grouping of the priests, Levites, and prince around the temple is an obvious outgrowth of their religious importance.

47 22–23 is not without its bearing upon the matter. There it is provided that sojourners in Israel shall have an inheritance like the Jews, the inheritance being in whatever tribe the sojourner resides. This provision means, under the circumstances here considered, that the Idumeans and Samaritans shall not be dispossessed by the Jews but shall have an inheritance with them in their territory.

The description of the city in 48 30–35 gives the names of the twelve tribes to the twelve gates of the city, three on each side, Levi being included and Joseph taking the place of Ephraim and Manasseh. It can hardly be without significance that the gates toward the north and south, the only directions which faced toward the territory of the tribes, bear the names of three tribes of the north and the south respectively, according to the arrangement of the tribes here given.

A few suggestions further may be added, in connection with what has already been said. If the chapters here discussed belong to the Maccabean period, that is probably true of the rest of chs. 40—48. There seems no reason to doubt the conclusion reached in my earlier paper, however, that a least two authors are to be recognized in chs. 40—48. 40 1—43 17, in large measure a description of the temple with detailed measurements, is probably to be put shortly before the cleansing and restoration of the temple under Judas, in 165. There are resemblances in phraseology in several places in 40—48 to the work of Ezekiel. It seems probable to me now that these should be regarded as the deliberate work of the authors, rather than as editorial features, and hence that these chapters should be called pseudepigraphal, since pseudepigraphy was very common in the Maccabean period.

In my earlier paper I considered 43 18—48 35 to be largely the work of one author, 44 1–4 46 19–24 and 47 1–12, however, being regarded as partly or entirely from the hand of a later

editor. I am now particularly impressed with the unity of 45 1–8a, 16–17, 21–25 46 1–12, 16–18 47 13—48 35. In all these portions the prince is prominent, and he is not mentioned elsewhere in 40—48 except in 44 3, which seems to be editorial. The remainder of the material in 43 18—48 35 is for the most part general Levitical legislation, in the style of P, and probably from a distinct author; this gives three principal authors in 40—48, the author in the case of the Levitical material being rather a compiler.

The figure of the prince in the chapters mentioned fits the Maccabean period as no other. In 141 an assembly of the people made Simon high priest, captain and governor, this honor being hereditary. Simon und his successors, therefore, it is well known, were the heads of the nation both politically and religiously as was never the case before. In the regulations concerning the prince in these chapters he is thought of largely as the religious leader, that is, as the high priest. In Lev. 6 19–23 (Heb. 12–16), the duty of offering the daily sacrifice was placed on the high priest. In the later Jewish custom he did not always offer the sacrifice but he defrayed the cost of it, as testified by Josephus, Ant. III, 10, 7. In Ez. 45 17 and elsewhere it is the duty of the prince to provide all the offerings. Surely he can be no one but the high priest. Yet he is distinguished from the priests in that he has his territory apart from theirs, and this territory he can give to his sons as he pleases, 45 7–8a 46 16–18 48 21–22. This indicates political importance and answers completely to the position of Simon and his successors.

The Maccabean age was continually testifying that it had no prophet. In what sense was this? The book of Daniel surely belonged to this period. What is meant apparently is an independent prophet. The prophets of that time get their message from an expansion and application of the earlier writings. The writer of Daniel gets his message from a study of the "books", Dan. 9 2. There and in the following verses Daniel is represented as speaking. He starts with Jeremiah's prediction of a duration for the captivity of 70 years and, evidently regarding that as not yet fulfilled, interprets the 70 years as seventy weeks of years. The writer of these chapters in Ezekiel concerning the

distribution of the land obtained the starting point for his message in a similar way. In 47 14 Yahweh is quoted as saying: "And ye shall inherit it, one as well as another; for I sware to give it unto your fathers; and this land shall fall unto you for inheritance". The writer evidently considers this promise not yet adequately fulfilled, and his scheme indicates how it is to be fulfilled under the circumstances in which he lived.

THE CODE SPOKEN OF IN II KINGS 22—23

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IN an article "The Code Found in the Temple", (Vol. XXXIX, pp. 45—51) Professor Berry makes an attempt to discredit the view held by modern critics that the code found in the year 621 B. C. by the High Priest Hilkiah, was the *D* code. He goes further in his new discovery and argues that the code was, to our astonishment, *H*. The comparisons and inferences which he makes seem quite inadequate to establish the contention. For example, he argues that Dt. is based on Lev. because he finds many passages in Dt. which seem to him an expansion of those in Lev., rather than the originals of which the Lev. passages are a condensation. He seems to disregard the fact that the principal motives of *H* and *D* are entirely different in character. so that what is of vital importance for one is not so important for the other; this, in spite of the fact that in almost all instances in which he suggests that Dt. is expanded there is a different reason given for the observance than in *H*. This indicates that the author had something to impress more than the author of *H*, but not because he expanded it on the basis of *H*. But even if this argument were valid, why ignore the fact that there are numerous places where *H* is expanded and *D* is brief. The passages in which *H* may be regarded as expanded from *D* are the following:

Lev. 17 10–14
Lev. 17 15–16
Lev. 18 8 20 11
Dt. 12 16, 23–25 15 23
Dt. 14 21
Dt. 23 1

Lev. 19 33, 34	Dt. 10 17–18[1]
Lev. 19 27–28, cf. 21 5, 6	Dt. 14 12
Lev. 19 31, 20 6 27	Dt. 18 11
Lev. 19 35–36	Dt. 25 13–15
Lev. 20 1–5	Dt. 18 10 12 31
Lev. 22 19–25	Dt. 17 1, cf. 15 21
Lev. 23 15–21	Dt. 16 9–11
Lev. 23 33–43	Dt. 16 13–15
Lev. 24 17–20, 21, 22	Dt. 19 21
Lev. 25 35–37	Dt. 23 20.

Turning to the arguments in favor of the *H* code drawn from a comparison with the account in II Kings 22—23, we may for the sake of clearness and accuracy quote Professor Berry's own words and then consider whether they prove his point or the contrary.

He writes: "The document found is called by the term 'book of the covenant' in II K. 22 2–3, 21. *D* is described as the 'words of the covenant' in Dt. 28 69 (English 29 1), and the term covenant appears elsewhere in *D*. References to a covenant, implying a description of the code *H* as a covenant, are found in Lev. 26 9, 15, 25, as well as in v. 42, 44, 45 which are perhaps a later addition." According to Professor Berry this description may apply to both codes, since we find in both the word "covenant". But when we find the term "words of the covenant" (it seems that the term "words" and "book" are used in Kings interchangeably) in the description in II K. 23 3 which is the exact term found in Dt. 28 69, I think there is no doubt that *D* is meant and not *H*. Furthermore the passages in Lev. which mention the word "covenant" do not apply to the code as a covenant; they simply speak of an existing covenant between Jehovah and his people.

He goes on: "It is also called 'the book of the law', II K. 22 8, 11. This phrase is not found either in *D* or *H*, but it is a

[1] Although Professor Berry considers this passage to be an expansion of Lev., I find it to be an elaboration. Dt. deals only with stones used for weight, and the ephah for measure. But Lev. enters into more details. It specifies meteyard, weight and measure; and besides the ephah it names the hin.

natural descriptive term for either." Here he apparently excludes from *D*, 28 61 where the term "book of the law" is found, although it does not appear in Lev. He also ignores the fact that the document is called in II K. 23 24, "words of the law" (here again "book" and "words" are used interchangeably). The same term "words of the law" is found in Dt. 17 19 28 58, but not in Lev. It seems that all the descriptive terms are found in Dt., but not in Lev., and so favor *D* and not *H*.

He continues: "The consternation of King Josiah, II K. 22 11, and the reference to the words of the book as foreboding of disaster, II K. 22 16, show that the book contained threatenings, which are found in both codes, principally in Dt. 28 and Lev. 26. The specific threatening that 'this place', presumably the city Jerusalem, should be a desolation, II K. 22 19, is not found in *D* but is in Lev. 26 31–32." I have studied carefully the verses in Lev., but cannot detect the specific place, the city Jerusalem. Here are the verses: "And I will make your cities a waste, and will bring your sanctuaries into desolation, and I will not smell the savour of your sweet odours. And I will bring the land into desolation; and your enemies that dwell therein shall be astonished at it." It is surely improbable that by "your cities", "your sanctuaries", and "I will not smell the savour of your sweet odours" Jerusalem is meant. But even so why state that such reference is not found in Dt? In Dt. 28 36 it says, "The Lord will bring thee and thy King whom thou shalt set over thee into a nation that thou hast not known"; is not the King in Jerusalem, and if so does not Dt. speak of a specific place? Also Dt. is definite in the element of threatening throughout chapter 28.

"Abolition of all forms of worship of other gods is narrated in II K. 23 4–6, 10–13 and is in accord with Dt. 17 3 12 2–3, and Lev. 17 7 19 3 26 1, 30." It is obvious here that the *D* code was the cause of the abolition, for II K. 23 4–6, 10–13, 14, 15 which tell the manner in which the abolition was executed, corresponds to the passages in Dt. but not to Lev. II K. 23 12 is in accord which the narrative in Dt. 9 21.

"The abolition of sodomites, II K. 23 7, is in accord with Dt. 23 17 (Hebrew 23 18) and Lev. 18 22 20 13." Here Professor

Berry disregards the fact that the terms קְדֵשָׁה and קָדֵשׁ used in Dt., and קְדֵשִׁים used in Kings, do not correspond to the term used in Lev. "Kadesh is strictly a 'sacred Prostitute' — one dedicated to some deity."[2] As it is used in Kings, it clearly applies to a 'sacred prostitute', for it says: "And he broke down the homes of the 'Kedeshim', that were in the house of the Lord". This term is not found in Lev.

"Further it is generally agreed that part of II K. 23 8 should be read, 'And he brake down the high places of the satyrs'; the worship of satyrs is forbidden in Lev. 17 7 but not mentioned in *D*."

He reminds us of the fact that the worship of satyrs is not mentioned in *D* and so this does not correspond to the code found, but he fails to note that the worship of "Ashera", "Host of Heaven", "Sun", and "Moon" that are spoken of in Kings are found in *D* but not in *H*.

"Further II K. 23 9a says that the priests of the high places did not officiate at Jerusalem; this is directly contrary to the regulation of Dt. 18 6–7 which prescribes that they shall do so." It is clear that Kings speaks of the 'priest' and Dt. of the 'Levite'. Also that Dt. does not command the Levite to go to Jerusalem in order to officiate but only "if a Levite come" then he may officiate. So Kings does not say that the 'priest' could not officiate: it simply says "the priests of the high places come not up". There is no contradiction, and no reason here why *D* is not the code found. He ends: "The account in II Kings, therefore, favors the view that the code was *H* and not *D*." How far this bold statement is justified we have tried to indicate.

We may add a few points of the same general character, which tend to confirm the usual view.

II K. 23 3, referring to the code, King Josiah said "And to keep his testimonies" (עֵדֹתָיו); this phrase is found in Dt. 6 17, 20 and not found in Lev. II K. 23 3, 25, "with all his heart and with all his soul and with all his might." This phrase is a favorite of Dt., it is repeatedly found, 6 5 10 12 11 13, 18 13 4, but is not found in Lev. II K. 22 19, "astonishment and a curse" (לְשַׁמָּה

[2] Driver, Gn. 38 21.

וּלְקִלָּלָה); the same expression is found in Dt. 11 28 28 37, but not in Lev.

II K. 22 13 the consternation of the King about what he read in the document and his sending to "inquire of the Lord for me and for my people" (using the term 'me' and 'people' instead of the more natural term 'us', which he uses later at the end of the verse), suggest that he was familiar with Dt. 28 36, where it says: "The Lord will bring thee and thy King whom thou shalt put over thee, unto a nation that thou hast not known". The reply of Hulda the prophetess that the King is expressly exempted from the doom of the unfaithful city also suggests the knowledge of the passage in Dt. 28 36.

ANOTHER FOLK SONG

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IN the Journal of this Society for 1885 and again in the Journal of 1915 I called attention to a curious song in a sort of jingle rhyme embedded in the book of Isaiah (3 18 ff.), apparently a street song satirizing female vanity in dress, used by the prophet as a text for his denunciation of the sinful folly behind such vanities. This folk song seemed to be unique in extant Hebrew literature, but recently in restudying the Psalms of the singular little "Davidic" collection, 138—144, I became aware of a similar piece embedded in one of the Psalms of that collection.

This group of Psalms, it will be remembered, is differentiated from all other Psalms and groups of Psalms in the last two books of the Psalter in that it is provided with musical headings and liturgical notes, like the Psalms of the first three books; moreover, each Psalm is ascribed to David, and one of them is provided with an "historical" note of occasion. In this they resemble the great "Davidic" collection of the first book, and the "Prayers of David son of Jesse" of the second book. In content, they constitute what, for lack of a better term, I may call a collection of "snare songs", liturgies against secret enemies who have laid wiles and snares to entrap and bring evil upon the righteous, poor and needy suppliant. Typical is Psalm 139, which is divided into four equal stanzas, 1–6, 7–12, 13–18, 19–24, as shown by the sense, each stanza being provided also with a sort of summing up clause. This Psalm commences, after a method common in old Sumerian as in Hebrew psalmody, with

a half verse, and, as is common also in Sumerian psalmody, the suppliant is a poor, righteous one. The purpose of this Psalm is set forth in the last stanza. It is a sort of incantation against the wicked, through whose secret wiles evil has come or may come on the righteous follower of Yahaweh. To secure Yahaweh's help to overcome these foes and their wiles the worshiper must give evidence of his knowledge of Yahaweh through which knowledge his prayer will exercise as it were a compelling power on Yahaweh to secure His intervention. In which, also, we find a conception similar to that found in old Sumerian as in other ancient incantations. Hence the suppliant displays his knowledge of Yahaweh's ways, in stanza 1, in relation to all His acts and the very thoughts of His heart, which is yet a knowledge too high and great for the understanding of man. In stanza 2 he displays his knowledge of the omnipresence of Yahaweh in heaven and hell, in east and west, in darkness and light, so that darkness and light are one to Him. In stanza 3 he displays his knowledge of Yahaweh's creative power, in his own dependence on Him for his wonderful and mysterious creation in his mother's womb, and before that in the womb of earth, and in the record of the creation (we are evidently in the book age here). Having thus established his claim to Yahaweh's help, we have in stanza 4 the invocation of Yahaweh against his foes, the enemies of God and right, and a final protestation of his own purity and righteousness.

The text of this group of Psalms is in an unusually disordered state, and there is a considerable number of Aramaisms and neo-Hebraisms. The suggestion is of a special text history, as though it had existed as a group by itself, and outside of the control of official scribes or Temple psalmists, for a considerable period, and then been taken over by the latter and added to the official Psalm collections. I would suggest that it was a collection of liturgies or incantations against secret foes and their wiles which had been in unofficial use and so handed down for a considerable period before it finally won its way into the official book of Psalms.

As is the case in a number of collections in the Psalter the closing Psalms of this group are somewhat different from the

preceding. Both 143 and 144 make use of the historical motive, referring to the great deeds of the past, and neither of them is so manifestly a "snare" song as the other Psalms of this group. The latter of these is one of the most singular Psalms in the Psalter, and it is to certain of its singularities that I wish to call attention.

Psalm 144 is divided into two clear cut parts, the first closing with v. 11. This first part is again divided into two stanzas, ending with partly identical refrains, 5–8, 9–11, and a preface, consisting of vv. 1–4, this whole portion, 1–11, being a mosaic of half quotations, chiefly from Psalm 18, except the identical parts of the two refrains, vv. 8 and 11 f., which alone, by the way, constitute this Psalm a "snare" song.

As in the case of Psalm 18 and as in the old Sumerian psalms, we have first a series of honorific names, adapted from, but with set purpose and considerable ingenuity never literally quoted from Psalm 18, and not always either from its opening verses. So v. 1a ברוך יהוה צורי is 18 47 חי יהוה וברוך צורי; v. 1b המלמד ידי לקרב אצבעותי למלחמה is 18 35 מלמד ידי למלחמה; in v. 2a חסדי seems to be a corruption, and should perhaps be corrected to חזקי from 18 2 or to סלעי from 18 3. The remaining appellatives in 2a ומצודתי משגבי ומפלטי לי are different parts of 18 3 or rather 2 Sam. 22 2, for it follows the text of the latter; 2b מגני ובו חסיתי is 18 3 אחסה בו מגני; and 2c הרדד עמי תחתי is 18 48 (or rather 2 Sam. 22 4) ומריד עמים תחתני. Vv. 3 and 4 seemed to me at first to be a gloss from a later hand, suggested by the piling up of honorific names for God, which by magnifying His greatness caused the glossator to reflect on the insignificance of man in comparison with Him. But more careful consideration has led me to conclude that this reflection is a part of the original poem, or at least it is done in the same method of half quotations, v. 3 יהוה מה אדם ותדעהו בן אנוש ותחשבהו being taken from Psalm 8 5 מה אנוש כי תזכרנו ובן אדם כי תפקדנו (the ותחסרהו with which 8 6 begins perhaps suggested the ותחשבהו with which the citation in our Psalm closes); and v. 4 אדם להבל דמה ימיו כצל עובר from Ps. 39 6b, 7 אך כל הבל כל אדם נצב אך בצלם יתהלך איש אך הבל יהמיון יצבר (Apparently the concluding עובר of our Psalm is suggested by the יצבר of Ps. 39).

Similarly the body of the two stanzas which follow is a mosaic of citations, chiefly from Ps. 18, with the original words purposely transposed or substituted. So 5a יהוה הט שמיך ותרד is 18 10 ויט שמים וירד; 5b גע בהרים ויעשנו is Ps. 104 32 יגע בהרים ויעשנו; 6 ברוק ברק ותפיצם שלח חציך ותהמם is 18 15 וישלח חציו שלח ידיך ממרום פצני והצילני ממים רבים; 7a b ויפיצם וברקים רב ויהמם is Ps. 18 17, 18 ישלח ממרום יקחני ימשני ממים רבים: יצילני; 7c מיד בני נכר is Ps. 18 45, 46 בני נכר; 9 אלהים שיר חדש אשירה בנבל עשור אזמרה לך[1] לך בנבל עשור is Ps. 33 2b, 3, 2 שירו לו שיר חדש with phrases revised, and a curious use of אלהים, as though to accentuate the intention of the author wilfully to vary the original, a practice carried much farther in post-biblical literature, I believe, but not occurring elsewhere in Bible literature to the best of my knowledge and certainly never so clearly and consistently carried out through an entire passage of such length; 10 הנותן תשועה למלכים הפוצה את דוד עבדו מחרב רעה is Ps. 18 מגדל ישועות מלכו ועשה חסד למשיחו לדוד ולזרעו עד עולם. All the words of 11a occur in Psalm 18, but not in any one single verse, as though the author would close his mosaic with the most extreme exposition of his method possible.

Verses 12–14, as they have come down to us, read:

אשר בנינו כנטעים מגדלים בנעוריהם
בנותינו כזוית מחטבות תבנית היכל:
מזוינו מלאים מפיקים מזן אל זן
צאוננו מאליפות מרבבות בחוצותינו:
אלופינו מסבלים אין פרץ ואין יוצאת
ואין צוחה ברחבתינו:

With a couple of most obvious corrections and adjustments of the text we have

בנינו כנטעים מגדלים בנעוריהם
בנותינו כזוית מחטבות בנותיהם

[1] It is perhaps noteworthy that the citations from these two later Psalms occur in the first verse of the two stanzas respectively. All the other citations are from early Psalms.

מזוינו מלאים מפיקים (מזן אל זן)
אין פרץ ואין יוצאת ואין צוחה
מאליפות מרבבות בחוצותינו[2]
אלופינו מסבלים . . . ברחבתינו.

The last two words in 12, תבנית היכל are obviously a corruption for something like בנותינו. The last three words of 13 are apparently a note of a glossator, "from here to here", something has been lost? Apparently this lost line has been inserted in v. 14. The whole would translate as follows:

Our sons like saplings grand in their youth(ful vigor);
Our daughters like columns comely (draped) in their domesticity.
Our garners full, overburdened (from this
No breaching, no leaking, no tumult . . . to this.)
Our sheep fertile, multiplying in our fields;
Our cattle burdened, (heavy laden) in our streets.

The אשר with which v. 12 now commences may be a remnant of the verse of benediction with which Psalms frequently close, which originally closed the Psalm vv. 1–11, but, transposed to its present position after the addition of this jingle poem, or folk song, now appears as v. 15, thus

אשרי העם שככה לו
אשרי העם שיהוה אלהיו.

which is itself a rhyme verse of curious construction. Possibly it was originally the close of the jingle, not of the Psalm, and the אשר of 12 may be a dittography from v. 11.

I should judge that verses 12–14 were originally a folk song which for some reason was written on the piece of papyrus or parchment on which the Psalm was written by the owner of the latter, or vice versa, and by that chance came to be combined with the Psalm, as we now have them. I should suppose the folk song to be older than the Psalm.

[2] According to the LXX all endings are in הם not ינו.

BRIEF COMMUNICATIONS

A SURVIVAL OF THE TETRAGRAMMATON IN DANIEL

The (אל ירמיה) דבר יהוה (היה) in Dan. 9 2 is correctly translated in the "Theodotionic" testimonies with *λόγος κυρίου*. But in the "Septuagintal" tradition of the Chigi MS and the Syro-Hexaplar we read, *ἐγένετο πρόσταγμα τῇ γῇ ἐπὶ Ἱερ.* It has not been noticed that *τῇ γῇ* is a survival of the presence of the Hebrew Tetragrammaton, i. e. ΤΗΓΗ = ΓΙΓΙ, the patristic tradition for the transliteration of יהוה. The variation has been obtained probably by a reallocation of the upright lines (as Dr. Bewer has suggested to me). Burkitt in his *Fragments of the Books of Kings according to the Translation of Aquila*, p. 15, says that "the more accurate copies" of the Greek to which Origen refers as containing the archaic Tetragrammaton, must be those of Aquila's translation. But while our "Septuagintal" authority is Hexaplaric, the presence of the Tetragrammaton here is hardly due to contamination from Aquila but should be regarded as more archaic and indeed Origen does not necessarily imply Aquila in his *ἐν τοῖς ἀκριβεστέροις τῶν ἀντιγράφων*. [See Mercati, *Revue Biblique*, 1911, 269.] In the form ΤΗΓΗ the transliteration made some kind of sense and so has been preserved.

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WERE THE BIBLICAL FOUNDATIONS OF CHRISTIAN THEOLOGY DERIVED FROM BABYLONIA?

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THE question expressed in the above title, although urged by certain over-enthusiastic Assyriologists, has never until now merited serious discussion. It seems wise at this time, however, to consider it soberly because of the recent publication of a remarkable text excavated by Dr. Andrae at Kalah Shergat, the site of the ancient city of Ashur.

The excavation at Ashur had been going quietly forward since 1902 until it was interrupted by the outbreak of the war in 1914. A number of important historical inscriptions were unearthed and their publication filled some of the gaps in our knowledge of Babylonian history. It was not, however, known until 1915 that Andrae had discovered at Ashur an archive of literary and religious texts as important as that found in the library of Ashurbanipal or at Nippur. In 1915 the publication of these was begun, and up to the present time six Hefte have appeared.[1] These volumes contain a number of fragments of the so-called Babylonian Creation Epic, the beginnings of which were discovered by George Smith fifty years ago. These fragments fill out important lacunae in the first tablet of the epic, which we had before only in a fragmentary condition, and give

[1] Published by E. Ebeling, *Keilschrifttexte aus Ashur, religiösen Inhalts*, Leipzig, 1915—1920. The publication is not yet completed.

us practically the whole of tablet six, of which we had before but a few lines. This new material makes one doubt whether the designation "Creation Epic" is properly applied to this poem. "The Wars of the Gods" would more nearly describe it, for throughout it is filled with the intrigues of the younger generations of gods against their elders, the measures taken by their elders to maintain their ground, and the consequent strife. The creation of the heavens, the earth, and man were only incidental to this strife and, as it were, by-products of it. But to this topic we shall return presently. This archive is much older than that of Ashurbanipal. Its latest texts are not later than the ninth century B. C. and its earliest fifteen hundred years before that time. It contains also an Assyrian code of laws comparable in some degree to that of Hammurabi. The translation, assimilation, and digestion of this new material will make the next few years a time of great interest to Assyriologists and students of religion.

The tablet which has called forth this paper is the sixth tablet of the so-called Creation Epic already mentioned. The writer has given a detailed translation of it in the third edition of his *Archaeology and the Bible* which has just appeared. To repeat the translation here would occupy too much space; it will suffice to give a summary of its contents.

It is no exaggeration to say that this tablet is one of the greatest surprises that Assyriological research has ever afforded, although that study has been replete with great and unexpected discoveries. We expected an account of the creation of man; the tablet contains not only that, but gives us the long sought Babylonian Paradise, a counterpart of the Fall of Man, and the re-creation of man and the redemption of the gods by the death of a god. Its contents are, in brief, as follows:

Lines 1—32 tell of man's creation. In this text man is made, not from the blood of Ea, but by Ea from the blood of the rebellious god Kingu, the husband of Tiamat. This work was entered upon and accomplished as the result of a conference between Marduk and Ea. Probably in an earlier form of the narrative Ea acted alone. Professor Jastrow showed some years ago that the text of other parts of the epic has been worked

over with a view of glorifying Marduk, and doubtless the same is true of this tablet.

After man was thus created, it is related in lines 33—69 how Eden was established. Man was put upon the earth in a large garden, twenty of the great spirits were stationed above and below, and a guard was placed so that he should not get away. In this spacious garden a sanctuary was built. This sanctuary, which was the divine pattern on which Esagila was afterward constructed, was provided with a ziggurat, the top of which they carried up till it touched the celestial ocean (*zu-ab e-li-ti*). Man cultivated the garden and in the temple provided the gods with food in the form of feasts and sacrifices. Thus the gods constituted an establishment in which they could anticipate comfort and satisfaction.

Lines 70—100, which contain the Babylonian equivalent of the Fall of Man, are in a fragmentary condition, owing to the crumbling of the tablet. This much is, however, clear: the whole trouble was caused by jealousy among the gods themselves. The trouble began by jealousy between Enlil and Anu. Enlil saw Anu's bow in the sky and hurled something at it. Anu was angry and as a result of the quarrel the godess Ishtar seems to have been taken away. The loss of some eight lines at this point deprives us of the story of just how this happened. When deprived of their beloved goddess, men forgot their deities, and permitted everything to go to ruin. Their pride became great and the sanctuaries of the gods they destroyed. Terrible ruin was the result.

Lines 101—110 relate how the god Marduk, in order to repair this disaster, made a pit as a tomb, went down into it in full splendor. From his bones a living creature — a new mankind — was formed. This new man restored and re-established the services of the gods, so that all was again happy.

Meantime Marduk lay in the grave, and lines 111—128 are occupied with the praises which the grateful gods ascribe to him, who had thus sacrificed himself for their sakes. Then line 129 tells how two mighty ones called Marduk, who is also called Asaru, to life again. Lines 130—134 record their praises of the risen god. These lines are remarkable:

"Exalted, he by his act gave might to us, the gods who had perished!
He is the lord, who by his holy death, made the dead gods to live!
May the hirelings who hated him perish! . . . .
Verily he is the one whom his fathers named the brilliant god! —
The pure god who makes holy our way!"[2]

The tablet then concludes with some partly broken lines, which tell apparently how three of the gods reported the culprits who had caused Marduk's death, and how they were bound and punished, after which praises and rejoicing were renewed.

This remarkable text presents many aspects for comparative study. It invites comparison with other Babylonian myths, with the myths of the death and resurrection of Osiris, with the J and P Documents of the Pentateuch, with the punishment of the wicked angels in Enoch, and with the Gospel accounts of the Death and Resurrection of Christ. In a paper, such as this, no exhaustive treatment is possible. Only a few suggestive remarks will be attempted.

1. It may be noted in the first place that the defection of men from the service of the gods was caused by the fact that they were deprived of their beloved goddess Ishtar. While it is not said that Ishtar had died, it seems probable that she was thought to have gone down to the Lower World in a manner analogous to that described in the well-known poem of "Ishtar's Descent".[3] In that poem the god Ea sent his Messenger, Namtar, to bring her back to life. In the new tablet before us Marduk goes down to death to create a new man and then comes back to life. Are not the two representations somewhat parallel treatments of the same theme? The writer has long believed that the god Marduk was a development out of an earlier

[2] *ša-ki-ma bi-nu-ti-šu-ma ig-ši-ru-ni ilani*^{pl} *ab-tu-ti*
be-lum ša ina mi-ti-šu illi-tim u-bal-li-ṭu ilani^{pl} *mîti*^{pl}
[u]-ši-ib-bit ig-ru-ti za-'a-ru-ti . . . .
[lu] ilu nam-ru ša in-na-bu abi^{pl}*-šu*
ilu il-lu mu-ul-lil a-lak-ti-ni.

[3] For a translation, see *Archaeology and the Bible*, p. 423 ff.

Tammuz, closely connected with the goddess Ishtar.[4] He is inclined to see in the present parallelism a confirmation of that view.

2. Marduk is, in this new text, called sometimes Marduk and sometimes Asaru. It has long been known that the name Asaru was also a name for Marduk. The name Asaru has been equated by some with Osiris (*'sir*) and made one of the arguments for the Semitic origin of the Egyptian civilization — even for the derivation of that civilization from Babylonia. Even Sayce[5] is inclined to give great weight to that view. It is true that the name Asaru[6] is Semitic, not Sumerian. It is derived from the root אשר, which designated a wooden post or ashera, and from which *aširtu* (*eširtu*), "sanctuary" also comes. From it also was derived the name of the Assyrian god, Asur or Ashur, who gave his name to the city and country of Assyria. There can be little doubt, I think, that the name Osiris (*'sir*) is derived from the same root. Asaru means "post" and the symbol of Osiris was a post. Both were gods of vegetation who died and rose again.

To insist for these reasons that the one must be derived from the other is, however, to take too narrow a view. When all the facts are considered — the kinship to Semitic of the Hamitic languages other than Egyptian, and the similarity of the environment of the Hamites in North Africa to that of the Semites in Arabia, together with the similarity of their resulting institutions — one is led, as the writer has pointed out elsewhere,[7] to believe that instead of borrowing from one another, the two peoples are offshoots of a common stock. Asaru and Osiris, the gods and their names, are survivals from that common ancestry.[8]

[4] When writing *Semitic Origins*, being somewhat over-enthusiastic as to the possibilities of changes of sex in deities, the writer thought Marduk a transformed Ishtar, but the view expressed above seems the more probable.

[5] See *Archaeology of the Cuneiform Inscriptions*, London, 1908, p. 119 ff. (see p. 208 ff.).

[6] The name Asaru occurs as early as 2500 B. C. in the inscriptions of Gudea; see Cylinder B. iv, 1. It is probably only accidental that earlier occurrences of it have not been found.

[7] See *Semitic Origins*, pp. 9 ff. and 115 ff.; also "Tammuz and Osiris" in *JAOS*, XXXV, pp. 213—223 and "Semites" in Hastings' *ERE*.

[8] Clay's attack upon the theory of the Arabian cradleland of the Semitic peoples in his *Empire of the Amorites*, New Haven, 1919, p. 27 ff.,

3. A comparison of this tablet with J's story of Eden and the Fall of Man in Genesis 1 and 2, and with his account of the Tower of Babel in Genesis 11, leaves on the mind the conviction that the J writer was dealing with the same material as the writer of this tablet, but that it had reached him in his Palestinian home in an oral and somewhat fluid form. This is shown in various ways.

For example, the J writer, holding as he did the nomadic ideal of Yahweh,[9] could not conceive that the Garden of God contained a temple. Accordingly, while he places the Garden to the East in Eden or *edennu*, the Babylonian plain, he retains of the temple only the "tower" or *Ziggurat*. This he transfers to a time after man had lost his Eden and to a place outside the Garden. Where the Babylonian text says that they raised the tower till its top touched the celestial ocean, J has instead: "Come let us build . . . . a tower, whose top may reach to heaven". In harmony with his conception that civilization proceeded from sin, he represents this building as so displeasing to Yahweh that in order to prevent its success, he confounded human speech.

J's Garden is, accordingly, minus both temple and tower. Like the Babylonian garden, it was divinely planted; man was put into it to dress it and keep it. Whereas, in the Babylonian story, guards were placed at the gates to keep men in, in J's account the Cherubim guards were not stationed until man had been expelled, and then to prevent his return. In the J Document trouble crept into Eden through the sin of the man and woman who were tempted by the serpent. In the Babylonian, by envy and strife among the gods themselves. Nevertheless in both accounts there would seem to be a consciousness that the trouble had to do with sexual functions. In the Biblical story

is unsuccessful because he fails to meet these fundamental facts with others equally fundamental. Indeed, he adduces no facts in favor of *Amurru*, apparently reasoning that, if other theories are disproved, his theory must be true. He has by no means, however, disproved the Arabian theory.

[9] For proof, see Budde, *The Religion of Israel to the Exile*, New York, 1899, chs. i—iii, and Barton, *Religion of Israel*, New York, 1918, chs. iv, v.

the sin would seem to have been an act which resulted in the establishment of sexual relations between the inmates of the Garden;[10] in the Babylonian, through an act which destroyed the goddess Ishtar and so caused sexual relations to cease.

Such comparisons make it evident that, while there is in the two accounts a substratum of common tradition, the biblical writer either handled the material with great freedom or received it through oral channels in which it had been so handled.

4. It has long been held by many interpreters that the P writer knew and was to a certain extent influenced by this Babylonian Creation epic. His account of creation in Genesis 1 1—2 4a is based on the same substratum of raw material as this highly mythical poem. Both conceive of primeval chaos as consisting of a mass of waters. They give to this the same name, *t'hōm, tiamat.* The wind of god (Hebrew רוּחַ, meaning also "spirit") is, according to both accounts, active in the creative process. Both writers describe the creation of a firmament which separates a super-celestial ocean from the waters below and allows space for the air to circulate above the flat earth. Each account is arranged in a series of sevens, the Babylonian in seven tablets, the Hebrew in seven days. Each of them places the creation of man in the sixth division of its series. While the exalted monotheistic conception of the author of the P Document led him to eliminate the mythical conceptions of the Babylonian account, and his prosaic mind also eliminated the poetic form, it seems clear that he was acquainted with the ideas of the Babylonian epic. If, as is generally believed, he lived in Babylonia, it is possible that he had read it in the cuneiform, or had heard it read, although this does not necessarily follow. These religious texts were in Babylonia the property of temples and of royal palaces. It is not at all certain that the library of a Babylonian temple would be open to a Jewish captive, or that an orthodox Jew of the type of Ezekiel and the Priestly Writers would frequent it, if it were. Like the J writer, P may have known the poem only through oral report, for, like J, he

[10] See the writer's Sketch *Semitic Origins,* New York, 1902, p. 93 ff.

exercises considerable freedom in his use of it. The creation of the firmament he transposes from the fourth tablet to the second day; the intrigues of the gods of tablet three are replaced by the appearance of dry land and the growth of grass, and the creation of the heavenly bodies is taken from the fifth tablet and placed on the fourth day. Of all the interesting things contained in the sixth tablet, which has now been recovered, P employs only the story of the creation of man. Nevertheless it seems probable, partly from the general considerations already noted, and partly from the language employed by P, that he had heard, at least orally, the Babylonian story, much as it lies before us in this new text. This story represents the plan to create man as the result of a conference between Ea and Marduk; it implies a kinship between man and the gods by saying that man was made from the blood of a god. P's account, in spite of his exalted monotheism, still contains an echo of this conference of the gods in the phrase: "Let us make man" — a phrase in which a number of commentators have discerned the survival of an anterior polytheism.[11] P also transforms the idea of kinship to the gods, expressed in the Babylonian belief that man was made from divine blood, into the statement that man was created in the image and likeness of god. This new text, then, illuminates the statements of Genesis 1 26 and affords new proof of the Babylonian origin of the creation story.

5. There is one other possible bearing of the contents of this tablet which ought to be discussed. No one can read it, without being impressed with the analogies between the death and resurrection of Marduk and the life-giving power which the Babylonian poet attaches to it and the Death and Resurrection of Christ as recounted in the Gospels and the theological significance attached to it in the New Testament and in Christian theology.

Undoubtedly the text will be hailed by the various branches of that group of writers who resolve the life of our Lord into myth as a godsend, and they will doubtless make various uses

[11] See Skinner, *Genesis*, p. 31 ff.; Gunkel, *Genesis*, p. 101 ff.; Holzinger, *Genesis*, p. 10 ff.

of it according to their respective theories.[12] Not simply in the interest of apologetics, therefore, but in a sincere desire to reach historical truth, the question raised by the analogies noted should be investigated.

The investigation of this problem involves three different lines

[12] These writers fall into four different groups. Like those who witnessed against our Lord at his trial, "their witness agrees not together".

1. There is the school represented by such works as J. H. Robertson's *Pagan Christs* and *Christianity and Mythology*, Arthur Drews's *The Christ Myth*, and W. B. Smith's *Ecce Deus*. Writers of this school seem to think that the authors of the Gospels consulted dictionaries of mythology and wove together into the story of the life of Jesus such elements as appealed to them. They have been sufficiently and soberly answered by S. J. Case, *The Historicity of Jesus*, Chicago, 1912, and their methods have been unsparingly exposed by F. C. Conybeare's *The Historical Christ*, London, 1914.

2. There is Professor Peter Jensen who, in editing the Babylonian Gilgamesh epic for Schrader's *Keilinschriftliche Bibliothek*, became obsessed with the idea that almost everything in the world was derived from Gilgamesh. In 1906 he published the first volume of his *Das Gilgamesch-Epos in der Weltliteratur* — a work of a thousand pages — in which he contended that all the prominent characters in the Old Testament were mythical and forms of Gilgamesh. He proposed in a second volume to dissolve the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* into Gilgamesh stories. When critics were severe as to the soundness of the positions taken in his first volume, he returned to the attack with a second: *Moses, Jesus, Paulus, Drei Varianten des babylonischen Gottmenschen Gilgamesch* (1909).

3. In another class we must put W. Erbt, a pupil of the late Hugo Winckler, who in his *Das Markus Evangelium*, 1911, endeavored to resolve the material of our earliest Gospel into adumbrations of astral myths, as his teacher Winckler in his *Geschichte Israels*, vol. ii, had endeavored to resolve the characters of the Old Testament.

4. We have such writers as H. Zimmern, who in the third edition of Schrader's *Keilinschriften und das Alte Testament*, 1903, and his *Zum Streit um die Christusmythe: das babylonische Material in seinen Hauptpunkten dargestellt*, 1910, finds the origin of the narratives of Christ in the myths of the Babylonian god Marduk. With Zimmern we must place H. Gunkel, whose *Zum religionsgeschichtlichen Verständnis des Neuen Testaments*, 1903, occupies somewhat similar ground. The writers of this last school approach much more nearly to sound methods of research than those of either of the three preceding, but, in appreciation of what is involved in a method that is really historical, even these writers leave much to be desired.

of study. 1. The New Testament accounts attesting the Resurrection should be studied in chronological order. From such a study it should be ascertained what the primitive tradition was, what modifications and additions have been made in it in the later Gospels. In this way, if there is a kernel of historical fact capable of being separated from later accretions, it should be possible to ascertain it. 2. If the study just outlined results in the separation of later accretions to a narrative that is probably historical, these later accretions may be properly compared with the Babylonian material to ascertain what likenesses and differences are presented. 3. If strong resemblances are found to exist between elements of the Gospel story and the Babylonian poem, it then becomes incumbent upon the investigator to make a careful examination of the possible channels by which the Babylonian material may have reached and influenced the Gospel writers. Unless he can prove that it came through the Babylonian influence upon the *Golah* in Babylonia, or through Persian sources to Jews, or through the Mithra cult, no Babylonian influence can be assumed. One will have to conclude that such resemblances as there are are strictly accidental. Let us briefly examine these points.

1. It is generally supposed that our earliest account of the Resurrection of Jesus is in 1. Cor. 15 3-8, though, in view of the investigations of Harnack and Torrey, it is, in the opinion of the writer, doubtful whether the Gospel of Mark is not earlier.[13] If, however, we follow the common opinion and take St. Paul's reference as the starting point, he tells us that Christ was raised the third day after his death, that he appeared first to Peter, then to the twelve, then to above five hundred at once, then to James, then to all the Apostles, and lastly to St. Paul himself. No further details are given. If we go to the Acts of the Apostles for further details of the appearance to St. Paul, we find it in the three accounts of his conversion (Acts 9 3-9 22 6-11 26 12-16), from which it appears that the appearance to St. Paul

[13] See Harnack, *The Date of the Acts and Synoptic Gospels*, New York, 1911, and C. C. Torrey, *The Composition and Date of Acts*, Cambridge, Mass, 1916, and "The Date of the Gospel of Mark" read before the Society of Biblical Literature in December, 1919.

was spiritual or psychical, and that St. Paul equates the previous appearances to others with the appearance to him.

If now we turn to the Markan narrative, Mark 16 1-8, and the lost ending, which, as Goodspeed has shown,[14] is probably to be found in Matt. 28 9, 10 and 16-19a, we find the following account. On the morning of the first day of the week after the Crucifixion, various women go to the tomb of Jesus, find the stone rolled away and a young man in dazzlingly white raiment sitting on the right side. He told them Jesus was not there, that he was risen, that they should go and tell the disciples to go to Galilee, that there they should see Jesus. As they were leaving the place. Jesus himself appeared to them. The eleven disciples went to Galilee, to the mountain which Jesus had appointed. There Jesus appeared to them, told them that all authority was given him, and bade them go and make disciples.

Here we have an account in which there are no elements which are not necessarily psychical or spiritual. While we cannot account for all the details on rational and psychological grounds, the essential details are, in view of widely attested experiences in modern times, no longer incredible. The elements for which we can find no analogy are easily explained as due to the highly excited state of the minds of the disciples and their habit of speaking in Oriental imagery and exaggeration. It is historically certain that they had some experience or experiences which changed their mental attitude from one of utter discouragement and despair to one of strong courage and confidence. In this new spirit they founded the Christian Church, the existence of which to the present time affords contemporary evidence of the historical character of some extraordinary experience, which convinced them that their loved Master had been raised from Sheol, in which all the dead were supposed to sleep, and was still living. There is no room for Babylonian influences here. We are dealing with the real experiences of unsophisticated peasants.

The Gospel of Matthew, if not the next to be written, is clearly based on the account in the Gospel of Mark and accords

[14] See the *American Journal of Theology*, IX, pp. 484—490.

most nearly with it. There are a few editorial changes. It is said that as the women approached the tomb, there was a great earthquake, which rolled away the stone from the door of the tomb, as an angel descended from heaven and sat upon it. This angel calmed the fears of the women, invited them to come and see the place where the Lord lay, bade them go and tell the disciples to go into Galilee, where the risen Lord would meet them. As they were leaving the tomb, Jesus himself appeared to them. Then in verses 11-15 there is inserted the story of the bribing of the Roman guards, after which the account goes on to tell how in Galilee Jesus appeared to the disciples. There is here no addition to the story that at all accords with the Babylonian material. The only element of the narrative of Matthew that can be regarded as parallel to the Babylonian myth occurs earlier in chapter 27 3-5, where it is related how Judas, the traitor, hanged himself. This might be taken as the deposit in story of line 132 and the closing lines of the poem, in which the destruction of the "hirelings who hated him" is described. The parallelism may be no more than a coincidence, but it is a coincidence.

It will be noted that in the accounts of the resurrection of Christ in Mark and Matthew there is nothing inconsistent with the supposition that the appearance of Jesus to the women in Jerusalem and to the disciples in Galilee was a psychical or spiritual experience. According to these accounts the disciples saw him only in Galilee. Turning now to the Gospel of Luke, its narrative of the Resurrection (ch. 24) is as follows: On the morning of the first day of the week the women who had followed Jesus in Galilee went to the tomb, found the stone rolled away. Entering in they did not find the body of Jesus, and, while they were perplexed about this, two men in dazzling apparel stood by them and told them that Jesus had risen in accordance with predictions which he had made while with them in Galilee. Later in the day he appeared to Peter, then to Cleopas and a companion who were walking to Emmaus, then to the eleven Apostles, and on that same night, apparently, ascended to heaven.

As compared with the earlier narratives, one notes here, 1. two angels instead of one. 2. the transfer of the epiphanies

to the disciples from Galilee to Jerusalem, and 3. a tendency to materialize the psychical or spiritual phenomena of the earlier narratives. The risen Lord breaks bread and eats with some of his disciples. Of these three changes only one is necessarily parallel to anything in the Babylonian myth; that is the two angels.

With this Lucan account that in the spurious ending of Mark (Mark 16 9-20) agrees, except that in this version, which is said to have been written by Aristion, there is no mention of the two angels.

The account of the Resurrection in the original Gospel of John (ch. 20) is in substance this: On the first day of the week Mary Magdalene went to the sepulcher and found the stone taken away from its door. She ran and told Peter and a disciple whom Jesus loved; they went to the tomb and found it empty. While Mary was standing without, weeping, she looked into the tomb and saw two angels in white sitting there. Turning, she saw Jesus, mistook him for the gardener, and had a conversation with him. When she recognized him, she went and told the disciples that she had seen the Lord. That same evening Jesus appeared to ten of them as they were assembled and showed them his hands and his side. Thomas was not with the rest at that time. A week later when Thomas was there Jesus appeared again and invited him, because of his doubts, to put his fingers into the scars caused by the nails and to feel also the scar of the wound in his side. With this proof of the resurrection, the Gospel of John concluded.

Luke, Mark 16 9-20, and John all transfer the epiphanies from Galilee to Jerusalem. Luke and John take pains to emphasize the material element in the risen body of Christ, and to preclude the idea that the epiphanies were psychical experiences. John, like Luke, has two angels instead of one.

This last element is the only one that presents features that appear in the Babylonian material, unless we go to other parts of the Gospel of John. In John 10 18 we are told that Jesus declared concerning the laying down of his life. "No man taketh it from me, but I lay it down of myself. I have power to lay it down, and I have power to take it again". Later parts of the

narrative are in accord with this (see 18 6 19 11). In 19 11 Jesus intimates that the power which Pilate has over him is given him by God. This accords with the intimation in lines 101, 102 of the Babylonian poem, that it was at the behest of his father Anu, that Marduk went down to death. In the Appendix to the Gospel of John (John 21) another epiphany of the risen Lord is recorded. There are in the record two significant things: 1. the place of the epiphany was Galilee. The older tradition, that it was in Galilee rather than in Jerusalem that the Lord appeared to his disciples, here reasserted itself. 2. the other significant feature of this narrative is, that, like Luke and the body of the Gospel of John, it emphasizes the material element in the Resurrection. There is an effort to make it more than a psychical or spiritual experience. There is nothing in the chapter that can be on any pretext derived from the Babylonian poem.

A closer parallel to the Babylonian account of the Resurrection of Marduk is found in the fragment of the Gospel of Peter ch. 9, where it is said that the Roman soldiers who were keeping watch at the sepulcher, heard during the night a great voice from heaven, saw the heavens opened, and two men descend from thence with much light and approach the tomb. At their coming the stone rolled away of itself. The soldiers saw the young men from heaven enter in, and saw three come out from the tomb, "two of them supporting the other and a cross following them; and the head of the two reached to heaven, but that of Him who was led by them, overpassed the heavens". This passage affords a striking parallel to the Babylonian poem, line 129: "Two mighty ones called the god Asaru, who is the perfect god, unto life again."

The result of this examination of the Gospel material is this: there is a parallelism between the story of the resurrection of Marduk and the Resurrection of Jesus, but, so far as regards the resurrection itself, that parallelism is accidental. The story of the Resurrection of Jesus is based on actual experiences through which unsophisticated Galilean peasants passed, and which convinced them that their loved Master no longer lay in the grave, but lived again. The accretions to this simple narrative which might possibly have come from Babylonia, if any

channel for such coming could be demonstrated, are the voluntary character of the death of Jesus portrayed in John, the two angels of St. Luke, St. John, and Peter, and the story of the perishing of Judas in Matthew. Is there historical probability that this Babylonian myth is responsible for the addition of these elements to the Gospel narratives?

That this Babylonian epic was known to the J and P writers, at least in oral form, has already been admitted above. Neither of these writers, however, transmitted the part of the Myth which relates to the death and resurrection of Marduk. It was repugnant to all their religious conceptions. The only narrative of a resurrection in the Old Testament is that of an unknown man whose body, because his funeral was interrupted by invading Moabites, was thrown into the tomb of Elisha, and who, when he touched the bones of Elisha, revived and stood up (2 Kings 13 20, 21). One might compare this incident with the re-creation of man from the bones of Marduk, but one could not fairly argue for a Babylonian origin for the tale. It is either a case of the revival of a man in a state of coma, or a bit of folk lore that might grow up anywhere.

Zimmern called attention years ago to certain analogies between the Suffering Servant in Isaiah 42 1-4 49 1-6 50 4-9 and 52 13—53 12 and the state of wretchedness portrayed in a Babylonian penitential psalm.[15] Perhaps a more telling analogy might be found between the Sufferings of the Servant, as described in Isa. 53, who bore the griefs and carried the sorrows of his beholders, who "made his grave with the wicked and with the rich in his death", who was to "see of the travail of his soul and be satisfied" and the death of Marduk, who caused the dead gods to live. The differences are, however, much more striking than the likenesses. The Suffering Servant was "despised and rejected", he "had no form nor comeliness", his "visage was marred more than any man". Marduk, on the other hand, went down "in full splendor into" his tomb (line 102 of the poem). Again, Marduk rose from the dead, while the Suffering Servant did not. The resemblances are really only

[15] Schraders, *KAT*[3], p. 385.

accidental. In the fortunes of the Hebrew nation or in the experiences of the prophet Jeremiah one can find the elements of the picture of the Suffering Servant. There is no need to go to a Babylonian myth.

No later Jewish book reflects these features of the myth. The author of Enoch 1—36, while he may have obtained the idea of the punishment of wicked angels from the myths, and knew that some hoped for a resurrection of men (see Enoch 10 10), has no word as to the resurrection of a god, an angel or the Messiah. The author of Daniel looks for a resurrection of many dead (Dan. 12 2-4), but they are human beings. Late psalmists, like the later Sadducees, scout the idea of resurrection (see Ps. 88 10 115 17). There is no evidence in Hebrew literature, canonical or apocryphal, that this part of the myth was transmitted through ordinary Hebrew channels to the time of Christ. Neither Mishna nor Talmud contains an echo of it.

If we turn to Zoroastrianism as a channel through which it might have been mediated to esoteric Jewish thought, our search is rewarded with the same negative result. The Gathas, the source of our knowledge of Zoroaster's own thought, afford no parallel to this myth, and one searches for it in vain in Yasts, Yasnas, Vendidad, as well as in the Bundahishn and other Pahlavi texts. Later Zoroastrianism had its belief in a general resurrection, it also looked for a Saviour, but its Saviour was not a suffering Saviour; he did not die and rise again.

The same is true of the Cult of Mithra,[16] which might conceivably have been a channel through which this Babylonian story might have been transmitted to Gospel writers. The devotees of Mithra looked for a resurrection, but there is no hint that their god was believed to die and rise again. If Essenism, on the secret theories of which the writers on the supposed Gospel mythology bank so much, contained Persian elements, as has been supposed, the story of the death and resurrection of a god could hardly have been one of them, for we look in vain in Persian sources for such a belief.

In short there is no known bridge across the chasm between

[16] See Cumont, *The Mysteries of Mithra*, Chicago, 1903.

Babylonian heathenism and the groups of early Christians among whom the Gospels were written. Persian and Jew alike held systems of thought so different from this myth, that, while both borrowed some elements of Babylonian thought, and Hebrews borrowed some of the myths of this very epic, the particular part which corresponds to the death and Resurrection of Jesus appealed to neither Hebrew nor Persian.

While it is true that our copies of the Babylonian Creation Epic are early, it was probably copied and read in the temples of Babylonia down practically to the Christian era. A Babylonian hymn is known, which, copied in the Arsacid time, bears the date of 80 B. C.[17]

But there is no evidence that at this period the sacred texts of the Babylonian temples possessed any attraction either for Jews of the *Golah* or for the little Christian churches, composed of poor people, which were scattered through the Levant toward the close of the first century A. D. Not till the next century did Christianity reach the dominions of Parthia.

Our conclusion, therefore, is that no influence of the Babylonian poem on the Gospel can be proved. Such likeness as there is may be purely accidental. The voluntary character of the death of Jesus as depicted in the Gospel of John, is the natural result of the Logos doctrine of the author of that Gospel, and the roots of the Logos doctrine are found in part in the Old Testament, and in part in Stoic and earlier Greek thought. These two strands had been blended in Philo, and account much more satisfactorily for this element than it is possible to do in any other way.

If, however, we were to make the most liberal assumption possible, and grant that in some unknown way the Babylonian myth *might* be responsible for the addition to the Gospel narratives of the suicide of Judas (an entirely gratuitous assumption) and for the two angels (which seems to the writer entirely unnecessary) the addition is so small and relates to such unimportant details, that it is entirely negligible. It strikes nowhere near the nerve of the great historic facts which underly the narratives of the Resurrection of our Lord.

[17] See Reisner, *Sumerische Hymnen*, Berlin, 1896, No. 49, and p. xiv.

THE DATE AND PERSONALITY OF THE CHRONICLER

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DURING the past generation the attention of Old Testament scholars has been drawn more and more to the problems connected with the Chronicler's great work—I and II Chronicles, Ezra, and Nehemiah. While Hexateuchal criticism remained the focus of interest, it was not to be expected that students would spend their time over a work generally regarded as a late midrashic compilation, with independent historical value only for the postexilic period.[1] But the advance of the school of Wellhausen to its final triumph over rival critical groups at last began to attract men to renewed study of the historical situation at the time of the introduction of the Priest Code and the definitive redaction of the Law. This led to a careful investigation of the sources for our knowledge of this period, contained mainly in the books of Ezra and Nehemiah. The complexity of the textual problems involved has been increasingly recognized, while the equally intricate chronological and historical questions have received every conceivable solution . . . except the right one, to judge from the unsatisfactory results hitherto obtained. To be

[1] Up to the present, no archaeological discoveries have confirmed the facts added by the Chronicler to his liberal excerpts from the canonical books of the Old Testament. Some of his statements, especially his lists of towns and clans, have doubtless historical value, though their exact source remains unknown. The rest is of the most problematical character, like the campaign of Zerah the Cushite against Asa. It is still, however, too early for a categorical denial of historical nuclei in these fantastic stories, obviously concocted *ad majorem dei gloriam*.

sure, the matter was relatively simple for the older scholar, who assumed without hesitation that Ezra compiled the work, to which he appended his own memoirs, along with those of his friend and associate, Nehemiah; there remained only the question of a possible rearrangement and of the disposal of certain passages which were thought by some to be interpolations. Can it be that the complexity of the problem is in part only apparent, and that the traditional view has an important grain of truth which has been disregarded of late?

Owing to the disorder in which the books of Ezra and Nehemiah have been left by later editors, the Persian kings are no longer mentioned in correct sequence. Moreover, there have been a number of interpolations, in part very late, designed to harmonize apparent contradictions and elucidate obscure allusions. Modern scholars have tried in many ways to reconstruct the original order. The Artaxerxes of Ezra's memoirs has thus been identified with Artaxerxes Mnemon,[2] or even with Ochus;[3] the date of Zerubbabel has been depressed to the reign of Darius Nothus,[4] and so on.

The question of the Chronicler's date is naturally of the greatest importance for the postexilic history of the Jews. Since he shows a total lack of historical sense in dealing with the preëxilic age, he may be trusted with equal unreliability for the century after the Captivity, in case he lived in the third century B. C., where the great majority of scholars, including Curtis, Batten, and Torrey, place him. On the other hand, since practically the whole of the old Jewish literature perished in 586, we can understand how a writer of the early fourth century might be worthless for preëxilic conditions, and yet reliable for the century preceding his own time. The two problems of the

[2] De Saulcy, *Étude chronologique des livres d'Esdras et de Néhémie*, Paris, 1868; Van Hoonacker, *Néhémie et Esdras*, Louvain, 1890; Batten, *Ezra and Nehemiah* (ICC), New York, 1913.

[3] Bellangé, *Le judaisme et l'histoire du peuple juif*, Paris, 1889, pp. 178 ff.

[4] Havet and Imbert, quoted by Kuenen, *Gesammelte Abhandlungen* (ed. Budde), p. 213. Havet and Imbert also followed De Saulcy in placing Ezra under Artaxerxes Mnemon.

date and of the veracity of Ezra-Nehemiah are therefore indissolubly connected, a fact which makes it of the greatest historical importance to fix the date of their composition or compilation.

At present there is a singular unanimity among critics regarding the approximate date of the Chronicler, and at the same time a surprising divergence as to the historical value of his work. The arbitrary attacks of the erratic Maurice Vernes[5] on the veracity of his account in general were followed by the much more serious criticism of Kosters,[6] who denied that there was a real return from the exile under Zerubbabel, and rejected practically the whole first part of Ezra, including the Aramaic documents, as a forgery, designed to enhance the glory of the priesthood. Wellhausen attacked Kosters' innovations with vigor, though granting his contention so far as the letters were concerned.[7] Kosters, however, soon received an auxiliary of unusual skill in the person of Torrey, whose *Composition and Historical Value of Ezra-Nehemiah* (Giessen, 1896) presented a wholly novel theory of great significance, later defended with vigor and success in his *Ezra Studies* (Chicago, 1910).[8] Torrey's textual work is perhaps unsurpassed for brilliancy in the whole domain of Old Testament science, but has been neglected by others because of the apparently concomitant necessity of adopting his iconoclastic views, involving the theory of Kosters as well as the rejection of the Ezra memoirs as a worthless fabrication of the Chronicler. However, there is, I believe, a way out of the dilemma, as will be shown below.

We should be in a sad pass if it were not for the extraordinary skill and success with which Eduard Meyer has demonstrated the general historic reasonableness of the two books in question. His epochmaking *Entstehung des Judentums*,

[5] Cf. his *Précis d'histoire juive*, Paris, 1889, pp. 562 ff. 589 ff.

[6] *Die Wiederherstellung Israels in der persischen Periode* (trans. Basedow) published in 1895, two years after the Dutch edition.

[7] *Die Rückkehr der Juden aus dem babylonischen Exil, Nach. Gött. Ges. Wiss.* 1895, 166 ff.

[8] The problem of Ezra is now at the front again: see Bewer, AJSL 1919, 18—26, and Torrey's reply, AJSL 1921, 81—100.

which appeared in the same year as Torrey's first work, defends the essential historicity of our material, with remarkable success, especially in the case of the Aramaic documents preserved in Ezra. For the first time the archaeological discoveries of the nineteenth century were drawn upon. The Aramaic language was the official tongue of Persian bureaucracy, a fact which might have been inferred before Meyer wrote, from Pahlevi, which is written in Aramaic characters, employing regularly Aramaic words as pseudo-ideograms with Persian readings (writing מלכא, but reading *shah*). What Meyer concluded on the basis of a few inscriptions and a single papyrus fragment is now certain, thanks to the Elephantine Papyri, as he has had the unusual pleasure of pointing out himself in his *Papyrusfund von Elephantine* (Leipzig, 1912). Many additional Persian inscriptions in Aramaic have come to light from the remotest corners of the Achaemenian Empire, even from places so far removed as Sardes in Lydia and Taxila in the Punjab, once the capital of the Persian province of India. The official letters found at Elephantine prove not only that Meyer was right in considering that the Aramaic letters in Ezra follow correct Achaemenian usage, but also in maintaining that the Persian court did take an active and effective interest in furthering the Jewish ecclesiastical polity of Ezra's school. Since denial of the latter point has been the main argument advanced against the authenticity of the letters, it is easy to see the importance of the Arsames correspondence, especially the letter regarding Passover observance. From Elephantine there has come, in fact, a perfect flood of material bearing directly or indirectly upon our problem; we are, accordingly, justified in examining it anew, in the light of the accumulating evidence. The tendency of the latter being in favor of the conservative position, let us reconsider, first of all, the date of the Chronicler.

The principal arguments adduced to prove that the Chronicler wrote in the first century of the Greek period are: (1) the genealogy of Jeconiah, I Chr. 3 17–24; (2) the list of high-priests, Neh. 12 10–11, 22; (3) the supposed Greek loan-words; (4) the language of the Aramaic letters. Let us, then, take up these points one by one, and consider their validity.

The genealogy of Jeconiah is really not nearly so difficult a problem as frequently assumed.[9] It is true that the versions differ from 𝔐 in v. 21 so as to apparently swell the six generations of the latter to eleven, but a little reflection will show the impossibility of that. The text of 𝔊 now offers us three detailed generations, followed by five where only the bare lineage is given, and finally three more appear in detail again; in 𝔐 no generation is slighted. 𝔐 begins (v. 17) with the sons of Jeconiah, born while he was a captive (אסיר) in Babylon. Seven sons are named: Še'alti'el, Malkîram, Pedâyah, *Šn'ṣr*, Yeḳamyah, Hošamaʿ, and Nedabyah. Pedâyah (v. 19) had two sons, Zerubbabel and Šimʿî. A number of scholars, following 𝔊, have altered *Pedâyah* to *Še'alti'el*, but 𝔊 was obviously indulging in some superfluous emendation on its own account. Nothing is more natural than to find two cousins bearing the same name, especially when the name is so natural for children of the Captivity as *Zêr-Babel*, a common formation in Babylonian, meaning "Offspring of Babylon". It is furthermore all but certain than the young Zerubbabel of Judah perished without children; as is well known, he planned rebellion against Darius, and probably was punished with death. Had he really left descendants, they certainly would have figured in similar attempts later. We speak of the "young Zerubbabel" advisedly; in the reign of Cyrus he was still so young that his uncle "*Ššbṣr*" acted as regent and head of the Jewish community. Now, as Meyer has shown, *Šn'ṣr* and *Ššbṣr* are not to be separated, though his suggestion for the original name, *Šin-bal-uṣur*,[10] seems to be wrong. Torrey's remark in

[9] The genealogy has been made the subject of a special monograph of over a hundred pages by Rothstein, *Die Genealogie des Königs Jojachin*, Berlin, 1902. It is difficult to see how a scholar of reputation could have gathered more nonsense into one work. Rothstein, along with many hazardous speculations, endeavors to reconstruct the history of the family from the proper names, which he thinks were given because of their bearing upon the fortunes of the house of Jeconiah. Now we know that proper names were nearly always given in antiquity because of their popularity or association with individuals, just as in modern times.

[10] The form is wrong. The word for "heir", not merely "son", is *aplu*, construct *apal*; the writing with *b* is not a Babylonian dialecticism, as used to be thought, but simply an orthographic peculiarity of the

AJSL 37, 93, n. 1 that "the two Babylonian names are correctly transmitted and perfectly distinct" is rather hasty, since neither name can be explained as it stands. The name *Šin-PAP* does occur in neo-Babylonian texts, but is to be read *Šin-nâṣir* (i. e. Šin protects, as a general statement; with *uṣur*, in the imperative, an object is required). "Sheshbazzar" is absolute nonsense; I Esdras (Cod. A, etc.)[11] offers Σαναβασσαρος, abbreviated by Josephus to Αβασσαρος. The original Hebrew שנאבצר* may very easily have been corrupted to ששבצר, since a ligature of נא in cursive Aramaic looks very much like a cursive ש.[12] Now *Šin-ab-uṣur* (Šin, protect the father) is a common neo-Babylonian name, found not only in the cuneiform tablets, but also in an Aramaic papyrus from Saḳḳârah as

archaizing texts of Nebuchadrezzar and Nabonidus. Where *bal* is found in foreign transcriptions, partial assimilation has been at work. With a *Šin-apal-uṣur*, *Ššbṣr* has hardly anything in common. The view often expressed that the name is compounded with *Šamaš*, pronounced *Šawaš*, is very improbable; the loss of the *w* would then have to be explained. Moreover, names formed with *Šamaš* are rare at this period. On the other hand, it is certain that *Šn'ṣr* begins with the element *Šin*. It is extraordinary to note the confusion prevailing among scholars regarding the orthography of this name. The transcriptions of Assyrian names in the Old Testament prove conclusively that the Assyrian form was *Sin*, and since the Assyrians inverted the Babylonian values of the sibilants *s* and *š*, it becomes clear that the Babylonians must have pronounced the name with *š*. That this was, in fact, the case is proved by many Aramaic transcriptions of Babylonian names beginning with *Šin*, where we always find the name written שן. When in the Elephantine copy of the Aḥîḳar Romance we find the name of Sennacherib written both סנחאריב and שנחאריב, it merely follows that the more common Babylonian pronunciation was sometimes used by mistake. The new Aramaic letter published by Lidzbarski was written by Babylonians, which explains the Babylonian forms of the sibilants. It may be added that the name of the moongod is Semitic, being found in South Arabia and Canaan as well as in Babylonia; the stem is Ar. *sânâ*, "to shine", primarily "flood with water or light" (like Eg. *wbn* = Ar. *wâbala*), whence we have *sânâ*, "irrigate" = Akkad. *šanû*. As is well known, the Babylonian values of the sibilants are etymologically more original than the Assyrian.

11 A careful account of the textual history of the name is given by Torrey, *Ezra Studies*, pp. 136—8.

12 The tail of the *nun* then touches the lower end of the shaft of the *alef*.

שנאבאצ[ר],[13] which gives the etymologically correct writing with all the alefs, as in the orthography employed in the Aḥîḳar Romance for the Assyrian royal names, written *defective* in the Old Testament. The *plene* writing may have been used also in I Chr. 3 18, in which case שנאבאצר* was changed to שנאצר by haplography.

The text goes on to name the two sons of Zerubbabel,[14] Mešullam and Ḥananyah, as well as a daughter, Šelômît. The following verse (20) names five sons of somebody, who is probably Mešullam, as has been suggested, since v. 21 gives the names of seven sons of the younger brother, Ḥananyah. The text of 21 is somewhat corrupt, but there can be no doubt that the seven names are all those of Ḥananyah's family; the interpretation of the versions has been disposed of above. The last name in 21 is Šekanyah, whose six sons are given in v. 22,[15] as Šemaʿyah, Ḥaṭṭûš, Yigʾal (𝔊 Yôʾel), Barîaḥ, Neʿaryah, and Šafaṭ. In v. 23 we find the names of the three sons of Neʿaryah: Elyoʿenai, Ḥizḳîyah, and ʿAzrîḳam. Finally, in 24, we have the seven sons of Elyoʿenai.

The following table will elucidate the chronological situation more clearly than can otherwise be done. The ancient Oriental lists of kings prove that the average generation in the case of kings and nobles was between twenty and twenty-five years.

Name	Earliest date of birth	Latest date of birth	Probable mean
Pedâyah . . .	590	560	c. 580
Zerubbabel . .	570	530	c. 550

[13] For the name see Lidzbarski, *Ephemeris*, III, 128. Torrey's suggestion, *Šin-šar-uṣur*, following שנסרצר, Lidzbarski, *Handbuch*, p. 380, is quite unnecessary. This orthography, by the way, is Assyrian, not Babylonian; for the dissimilation, changing the first *s* into *š* (as in Arab. *šams* for **sams*), cf. שלמנסר for Assyr. *Šulmânu-ašarid*, pronounced *Sulmanasarid*. It may be added in this connection that the Nêrâb name שנורבן, *Šin-zêr-ibnî* (not *Sin-zer-ban*, which is nonsense) is Babylonian, not Assyrian, and that the Nêrâb inscriptions date from the reign of Nabonidus, when the cult of Bêl-Ḥarrân was revived, this god being, of course, Šin.

[14] The cousin of Zerubbabel, son of Šeʾaltiʾel (see above).

[15] The phrase ובני שמעיה is proved by the rest of the verse to be an error of a copyist, which he inadvertently allowed to stand in the text.

Name	Eearliest date of birth	Latest date of birth	Probable mean
Ḥananyah	550	500	c. 525
Šekanyah	520	460	c. 500
Neʿaryah	495	430	c. 475
Elyoʿenai	475	400	c. 450
Seven sons of Elyoʿenai	455—440	370—350	c. 425—410

The mean dates given in the table agree perfectly with the synchronisms otherwise determinable. Šemaʿyah, son of Šekanyah, was an adult in the time of Nehemiah (Neh. 3 29), whom he assisted B. C. 444 with the construction of the wall, so could not have been born later than 470; according to our table his father was born about 500, but may have been born in 520. A later date than 500 is excluded, a fact which at once raises the lowest limit for the birth of Elyoʿenai's sons to about 400—380. But the evidence of nomenclature points to the preceding generation for the time of their birth, in strict accord with our mean estimate, since four of the sons bear names belonging to some of the most prominent members of the Jewish nobility between 425 and 400: Elyašîb, Yôḥanan (high-priests), ʿAnanî (brother of Ostanes),[16] and Delayah (son of Sin-uballiṭ).[17] Since the studies of Cook, and the discovery of the Elephantine Papyri and the ostraca from Samaria, we know that the proper names of the Jews followed the same laws of popularity as those of other peoples, so this agreement is convincing testimony against a later date than the beginning of the fourth century for the birth of Elyoʿenai's sons. From the evidence of the genealogy,

[16] Meyer, *Papyrusfund*, p. 73, n. 3, has attempted to identify this ʿAnanî with his Biblical namesake, but he is surely wrong.

[17] The pronunciation *Sin-uballiṭ*, suggested long ago, has been proved by the Elephantine Papyri, which write סנאבלט. There can be little doubt that he was a native of Beth-horon, whence he is called the Horonite modern *ʿÛrî*, from *Bêt-ʿûr*. Like the family of the Tobiads, sprung from Nehemiah's foe, Sin-uballiṭ left a "name for himself in the land," for we can trace his line through his sons to Sin-uballiṭ II, a contemporary of Alexander, with whom Josephus confuses Sin-uballiṭ I. The Assyrian pronunciation of the name shows that he cannot have been a "Cuthean" himself, but probably sprang from the Assyrian officials who governed Samaria from 722 until after 625.

then, the compiler of Chronicles lived between 400 and 350, certainly not in the Greek period.

This brings us to the second point; the names of the high-priests in Neh. 12 10 f., 22 f. Since the discovery of the Elephantine Papyrus, No. 1, this question should afford no more trouble, and yet it seems to be misunderstood even yet. Verse 23, which states that the names of the Levites were recorded down to the time of Yôḥanan, son of Yôyadaʿ, proves that the Chronicler finished his work during the priesthood of Yôḥanan, which began before 410, and lasted (see below) until after 398, presumably until about 390—380. The mention of Yaddûaʿ, son of Yôḥanan, in 11 merely means that Yaddûaʿ I (who must not be confused with Yaddûaʿ II, son or grandson of Yaddûaʿ I)[18] was the recognized heir to the high-priesthood when the Chronicler wrote. An argument for the late date of the Chronicler has been drawn from v. 22, which says that the records then in Jerusalem extended to the reign of Darius the Persian, who is identified with Codomannus. But since there was no Greek Darius, it is obviously absurd to speak of Darius III as "the Persian". The appellation "Persian", may, however, have been applied naturally to Darius Hystaspes, to distinguish him from Darius the Mede.[19] This enables us to reach a solution of the

[18] It is barely possible that Yaddûaʿ actually did hold the high-priesthood for more than fifty years (cf. the table below), and that there is no Yaddûaʿ II. Under the circumstances, however, it is safest to distinguish between them. There is no difficulty in assuming that the name was repeated, since this becomes the rule in the third century with the Oniads.

[19] Torrey's view that Darius the Mede is a confused reminiscence of Darius Hystaspes (*Ezra Studies*, p. 38, note) is possible, but not likely. Darius I was a Persian of the Persians, of the purest Achaemenian stock, and his victory over Pseudo-Smerdis was also a triumph over the growing Median influence at court, which the Medes resented by appeals to arms, under the leadership of nobles of the old Median line. On the other hand, Gobryas, who, as we know from cuneiform sources, was appointed governor of Babylonia by Cyrus, had been governor of Gordyene (Gutium), and was almost certainly a Mede, since earlier in his career he was a general of Nebuchadrezzar, the ally of the Medes. The statements of Daniel and the Cyropaedia regarding the advanced age of the first Iranian ruler of Babylonia are thus confirmed by the cuneiform records. It seems to me highly probable that Gobryas did actually assume the royal dignity,

problem; we must read in Neh. 12 22, מעל מלכות דריוש הפרסי, "from the reign of Darius the Persian" (to the time of Johanan, next verse). The מ has been lost by haplography, since the preceding word closed with a ם; the emendation עד, generally adopted, now becomes gratuitous. The preposition מעל is used because past time is considered psychologically as higher than present time. Our passage therefore means simply that the records available in Jerusalem extended from the time of Darius Hystaspes (about 520) down to the priesthood of Yôḥanan (about 380), and furnishes us with another important, in fact irrefutable argument for placing the Chronicler during the latter part of Yôḥanan's priesthood.

We now come to the problem of the supposed Greek loan-words in the Chronicler's work, which have been defended most elaborately by Torrey.[20] The words in question are דרכמונים (which occurs several times in Ezra-Nehemiah instead of the usual אדרכונים), אפרסכיא (Ezra 5 6 6 6), אפתם (Ezra 4 13), פתגם (Ezra 4 17, etc.) The view that דרכמון is a loan from Gr. δραχμή is an unproved assumption; in Phoenician both forms, דרכנם and דרכמנם, occur as the names of metallic weights, so Eduard Meyer (*Entstehung*, pp. 296 f.) is probably right in maintaining that δραχμή is a loan from the Phoenician, instead of the reverse. Nor is it at all unlikely that our form is a late error of the copyist for the archaic אדרכונים, "darics". It is, at all events, clear that this form alone offers no effective argument unless supported by strong corroborative material.

along with the name "Darius", perhaps an old Iranian royal title, while Cyrus was absent on an Eastern campaign. At all events Gobryas presently disappears, and is followed in the viceroyalty of Babylon by Cambyses, so we may suppose that he died suddenly, before Cyrus had arrived on the scene. After the cuneiform elucidation of the Belshazzar mystery, showing that the latter was long coregent with his father, the vindication of Darius the Mede for history was to be expected. If I am correct in placing the composition of the first half of Daniel (see below) during the early part of the third century, not over two hundred and fifty years later than the Persian conquest, we may safely expect the Babylonian Jewish author to be acquainted with the main facts of neo-Babylonian history.

20 See his *Ezra Studies*, pp. 174 ff.

Torrey (*op. laud.*, p. 174) explains אפרסכיא as Gr. ἔπαρχος with the Aramaic plural ending. It must be granted that the word can hardly be a gentilic, "Persians", as Meyer maintains at length (*Entstehung*, pp. 38 ff.), but evidently refers to Persian officials of some kind. But Torrey's suggestion is opposed by the fact that ἔπαρχος appears in later Aramaic as איפרכא, with the meaning *praefectus*, which ἔπαρχος had under the Romans, while ἐπαρχία appears as אפרכיא. Were our word in reality so common a Greek term, how could the LXX have failed to recognize it? Since the word occurs in two passages with the same spelling, it is probably transmitted correctly, a fact in itself a fatal objection to Torrey's identification. Without doubt it is Persian, though the speculative etymologies of Scheftelowitz and others may safely be neglected. But since Torrey wrote in 1910 the Sachau papyri have been edited, providing us with a mass of Perso-Aramaean official names, so we must, perforce, be more modest in our assertions regarding the possibilities in this direction. In Pap. El. 4, 5, we read, וכנותה אזדכריא, exactly paralleling Ezra 5 6, וכנותה אפרסכיא. The term אזדכרא means approximately "secretary" (*azd* + *kar*, adjectival suffix), so אפרסכ(ר)יא ought to mean something similar, probably with the same termination *kar*, as in פרמנכריא, "commanders" (*farman* + *kar*) etc. While I have no definite solution of the question, it may be worth while to make the following suggestion. In Pap. El. 10, 3, etc. we have the Persian word פתיפרסא or פתפרסא, of uncertain meaning. Now, Persian *pât* is "lord, master, chief", as in *nôpât* (נופתא Pap. El. 8, 2), "naval captain". We therefore are left with the element יפרס or פרס, which may then be found with the suffix *kar* in אפרסכ(ר)יא. In the Talmud פרסא is "salary". Our term may mean "officials", or "secretaries"; perhaps some Iranian specialist may be able to explain it more exactly.

Torrey further combines אפתם with Gr. ἐπίθεσις, "impost" (*op. laud.* p. 175). In Ezra 4 13, where the word appears, we must render: Let it now be known to the king that if this city be built and the walls be completed, (the Jews) will not pay tribute, taxes or imposts (Assyr. *mandattu*, *biltu*, *ilku*) and the royal *aftom* (the better attested reading) will suffer loss.

"Impost" is here an impossible rendering, and "revenue", which Torrey suggests, is too general a term, besides being a very inexact translation of Gr. ἐπίθεσις. The most natural rendering is "treasury", which is precisely what Scheftelowitz has suggested, on the basis of Avestan *pathma*, "storehouse" (*Arisches im Alten Testament*, p. 79).

The last Greek loan-word proposed by Torrey is פתגם, which he equates with Gr. φθέγμα (*op. laud.* p. 177). Our word has the same meaning as later Aram. פתגמא, "message, command, word, thing". Now Gr. φθέγμα was already a poetic archaism in the Hellenistic period; it is not found once in the New Testament, and only once in the Old, Job, 6 26, where it renders רוח (!); the occurrence of the word in the book of Wisdom is without significance, since this author prides himself on his poetic phraseology. That an archaic Greek word meaning "sound, voice", should be borrowed in Aramaic to mean "message", etc., is unthinkable. Moreover, we have a perfectly good Persian etymology; as pointed out long ago Pers. *paigam*, "message", and Armenian *patgam*, "word", go back to Old Persian *patigama*, which combined the two meanings.

From the foregoing discussion it appears that we do not find a single probable Greek loan-word in the whole of the Chronicler's work, and only one even possible one. Let us then consider Torrey's argument for the late date of the Chronicler on the ground of the Aramaic idiom employed in the Aramaic sections of Ezra.[21] As a result of his comparisons he concludes that Ezra and Daniel are more closely related in their phonological and morphological peculiarities to Jewish Aramaic than to the Aramaic inscriptions of 900—500, and must be placed considerably later than the Elephantine Papyri. A similar, but much more elaborate study of the Aramaic of Daniel by Wilson, of Princeton, comes to opposite conclusions. Wilson's study is a very accurate, and, in general, judicious study of the available material, though his anxiety to prove that Daniel might have been written in the sixth century B. C. (!) leads to some queer deductions from his own evidence. The trouble with the

21 *Ezra Studies*, pp. 161 ff.

arguments from Daniel is that Daniel is obviously a composite work, from two different periods. Dan. 1—7 28a, begun in Hebrew, but relapsing at the first convenient opportunity into Aramaic, is entirely different in character from the rest of the book, composed throughout in Hebrew, and dating without question from the reign of Antiochus Epiphanes. In the latter part the predictions are explicit, down to the desecration of the Temple; there is a full angelology, Gabriel and Michael being mentioned by name. In the first part the prophecies are so vague that interpreters have never reached an agreement on their meaning, and the attempts to refer them to Antiochus Epiphanes leave one skeptical; moreover, angels are alluded to in vague terms, but no names are given. More important still is the Babylonian atmosphere that enshrouds the first part, disappearing entirely in the latter half of the book. The former is of value for neo-Babylonian history, thanks to the interesting legendary details regarding Nebuchadrezzar, Belshazzar, and Darius the Mede, which could hardly have been common property in the second century B. C.; the latter is worthless for this purpose. While the visions in ch. 4 and 7 are full of Babylonian imagery, with the sacred tree whose top reaches heaven,[22] winged lions and panthers, etc., the visions in the latter part, with their rams and goats, their kings of the south and north, etc., are wholly un-Babylonian.[23] The visions of the first half of Daniel are impregnated with Babylonian magical and eschatological conceptions, such as the succession of kingdoms

[22] Eduard Meyer's view (*Ursprung und Anfänge des Christentums*, Vol. II, pp. 189 ff.) that this tree is a reflection of the Iranian Gaokerena (Gokart) is entirely unnecessary, since we find the same ideas appearing throughout cuneiform literature; see my remarks AJSL 35, 193 ff.

[23] The symbolism of rams and goats, while un-Babylonian, is rather characteristic of Egyptian culture. Note also that the lamb of Bocchoris is one of the most popular mediums of apocalypse among the later Egyptians. The conflict between the kings of the south and the north is also an Egyptian motive found constantly in the religious and apocalyptic literature. While direct Egyptian influence upon the writer of Daniel II is possible, it is more likely that the motives were borrowed from the common Palestinian stock, quite largely, as we know now, of Egyptian origin.

of gold, (silver),[24] bronze, and iron, and cannot be forced into accord with any sequence of historical empires; such predictions, based on astrological and magical foundations, became more and more common in the last centuries before the Christian era, as we know from the papyri and from Berosus, etc. The three, perhaps four Greek loan-words in Daniel preclude a date earlier than 300 B. C.; 2 43 obviously refers to the vain efforts of Alexander, Seleucus Nicator and Antiochus Soter to amalgamate the Hellenes and the Orientals, which failed—even as iron is not mixed with clay. We may therefore place the Aramaic section of Daniel somewhere in the first half of the third century, a century or a little more after the composition of Ezra, as shown above. In the third century literary Aramaic was still the *lingua franca* of the Achaemenian Empire, and the question of local dialects plays little rôle. It is practically certain that the first part was written in Babylonia, since, if it were known in Palestine when the author of Daniel II wrote, his work could not have been successful.

A number of indications that Ezra is older than Daniel I are present. In 402 lines (Marti's ed.) Daniel has 14 Persian loan-words, while in only 136 lines of Ezra there are 11. Persian loans would fall in popularity under Greek rule as rapidly as Turkish words are disappearing from Palestine under the British mandate. The fact that Daniel has proportionately less than half as many Persian words as Ezra has is therefore very significant. On the other hand, there are three or four Greek loans in Daniel—none in Ezra (see above). Grammatically, the differences are very slight; the language is the *lingua franca*. Yet the following evolution may be pointed out. In the Aramaic papyri of the fifth century the causative in *h* (*hafel*) is always employed, and in Ezra the same is true. In Daniel there is one *afel* form, and two or three reflexive forms in א instead of ה. In Jewish Aramaic we always have *afel*, except in a very few archaic forms, probably from the Maccabaean period, which show that Daniel is not written in Jewish Aramaic of the second century B. C., but in the older *lingua franca*.

[24] The silver element is explicitly mentioned in v. 32.

So far as the supposed evidence for the modernity of Biblical Aramaic is concerned, the following will suffice. The main argument is orthographical. When the Aramaeans adopted the Phoenician script, they employed ז to represent their *ḏ*, following analogy, and ק to indicate their *ḍ*, pronounced actually'.[25] This is still the usual orthography of the papyri, but in Biblical Aramaic the more recent orthography is consistently used. It is hard to see how an argument from orthography can be used here at all. As is well known, the *matres lectionis* were introduced into Hebrew after the Exile—but they were put in almost everywhere in the Old Testament, even in the earliest portions. The classical Greek and Latin authors automatically underwent the same process, found before them in Egypt and Babylonia, and since then in numberless instances. The King James' Version, for example, is not published now in its original spelling, nor is the *Don Quijote* of Cervantes.

The grammatical differences between the papyri and the books of Ezra and Daniel are almost negligible, but, slight as they are, they show that Biblical Aramaic is a little more recent, just as we maintain. The similarity in vocabulary is very great, as great as the gulf between Biblical Aramaic and the Targums. The verb שׂים, for instance, is found thirteen times in the Elephantine Papyri, sixteen times in Ezra, ten in Daniel (with three times the extent), once out of some two hundred possible cases in Onkelos, and never in Jonathan. Here we may bring the philological discussion to a close, secure in the confidence that we have found nothing to cast doubt upon our

[25] Since all the ק's which stood for an etymological *ḍ* became later ע, it is certain that the ק is simply a conventional orthography. The cerebral (not emphatic) *d* seems to have become a glottal catch in Aramaic, just as the cerebral *q* has in the city dialects of Egypt and Palestine. There is an intimate phonetic and auditory association between ק and א, which leads to their being confused very easily. Now as we know from Aramaean morphology the true consonantal א was lost very early, and the א became a vowel-letter. Hence, in order to indicate the glottal catch, ק was the only available letter. Later on the ע lost its true value as the voiceless consonant corresponding to unpointed *ḥa*, and became pronounced as a kind of glottal catch, or *alef*. Accordingly the *ḍâd* and the *'ayin* fell together, and the letter ע was used for both.

approximate date for Ezra, c. 400—350, and Daniel, shortly before 250.

Now we are ready to take up the question of the authorship of the books of Chronicles, Ezra, and Nehemiah. Who was the Chronicler? The way to a solution of this interesting, but at first sight insoluble question is furnished, I believe, by Torrey's brilliant analysis of Ezra and Nehemiah. Torrey has demonstrated in the most convincing way that "there is no portion of the whole work Chron.-Ezra-Neh. in which the Chronicler's literary peculiarities are more strongly marked, more abundant, more evenly and continuously distributed, and more easily recognizable, than in the Hebrew narrative of Ezra 7—10 and Neh. 8—10".[26] It is hard to see how anyone can oppose this conclusion, after a careful study of the impressive list of words and expressions common to the Chronicler and to the Ezra memoirs given by Torrey, *Composition*, pp. 16—28. In his *Ezra Studies*, pp. 238—248, he has adduced a great many additional facts and considerations, the cumulative momentum of which is enormous. As Torrey observes, Ezra "was a man precisely like the Chronicler himself: interested very noticeably in the Levites, and especially the class of singers; deeply concerned at all times with the details of the cult and with the ecclesiastical organization in Jerusalem; armed with lists of names giving the genealogy and official standing of those who constituted the true church; — — — zealous for — — — the preservation of the pure blood of Israel! There is not a garment in all Ezra's wardrobe that does not fit the Chronicler exactly".[27] Having with rare logical consistency reached this result, Torrey's attitude on the other evidence forces him to the conclusion that the memoirs of Ezra

[26] *Ezra Studies*, p. 241.

[27] Batten's objection (*op. laud.*, p. 51) to Torrey's statement is based upon his elimination from the Ezra memoirs of everything that to him suggests the Chronicler, though an impartial critic can hardly see less characteristic marks of the Chronicler in the portions he retains. Batten says "there is no genealogical or other list of names" in the Ezra memoirs, but his own very arbitrary delimitation of the latter on p. 16 includes the list of eleven names in 8 16 and the genealogy in 8 18. Despite his correct solution of the Ezra problem, Batten's treatment of the documents is most unsatisfactory—nor could it be otherwise, with his point of view.

are a forgery of the Chronicler, and that Ezra himself is probably a mythical figure imagined by the Chronicler in order to give authority to his peculiar point of view. As a result recent writers, unable to accept Torrey's radical revision of the historical situation in the fifth century, have rejected his critical theory, though admitting that the Ezra memoirs are colored by a drastic revision at the hands of the Chronicler. But if this is the case, why do we not find the same thorough-going redaction in Nehemiah? The Chronicler's method in redacting the Book of Kings was to supplement, not to rewrite, so we may safely assume that he followed the same course with the Ezra memoirs —unless we cut the Gordian knot of the difficulty by supposing that he wrote them himself—that, in other words, the Chronicler was Ezra.

This may seem absurd, since critical scholarship has for generations rejected the tradition that Ezra was the Chronicler. This skepticism has served its purpose in freeing the minds of scholars from predispositions as to the nature of the work, but now the cycle is completed, and we may return to a traditional theory without being regarded as slaves of tradition. But here there looms an apparently unsurmountable obstacle to our suggestion. Ezra is placed by the consensus of opinion in the reign of Artaxerxes Longimanus, over fifty years before the date fixed above for the composition of the Chronicler's work. Of late, however, there is an increasing tendency to place Ezra after Nehemiah, in the reign of Artaxerxes II, Mnemon, a theory first presented with all Van Hoonacker's ability in a brochure entitled *Néhémie et Esdras. Nouvelle hypothèse sur la chronologie de l'époque de la restauration* (Louvain, 1890). Kuenen immediately replied to Van Hoonacker,[28] but his answer, representing all that the ripest scholarship could say in defense of the standard view, is very unconvincing. The Belgian scholar made one mistake which seriously weakened his position, suggesting that Ezra was in fact an associate of Nehemiah, but later went back to Babylonia, only returning decades later in 397 (398), an almost inconceivable hypothesis. For years no one

[28] See his *Gesammelte Abhandlungen*, edited by Budde, pp. 235—251.

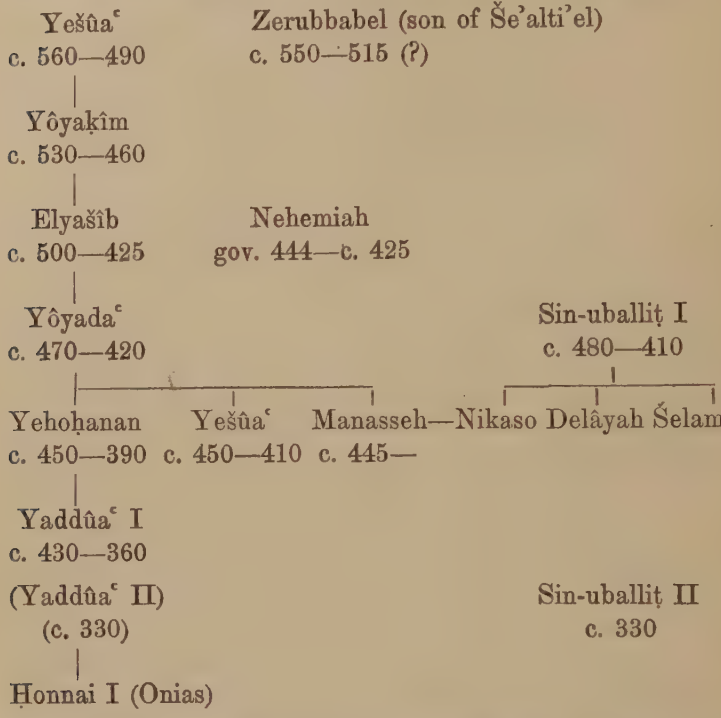
ventured to take up arms for its defense, though Torrey removed one of the chief difficulties by showing convincingly that the references to Nehemiah in the Ezra memoirs were late glosses,[29] so that Ezra might have lived after Nehemiah—if he existed at all—; Torrey suggested that the Chronicler meant to place Ezra under Artaxerxes Mnemon. Finally, in 1913 Batten, in his commentary on Ezra and Nehemiah (ICC), made the obvious change in Van Hoonacker's theory. It is this theory which we adopt, after reaching it independently.

By placing Ezra before Nehemiah we encounter a large number of most perplexing difficulties (Batten, pp. 28—30). The reforms of Nehemiah would be very strange and even inexplicable if Ezra's career had fallen shortly before, nor could the Levites well be brought to such a pass as that described Neh. 13 10 f. during Ezra's ascendancy. Ezra nowhere in his memoirs describes the Holy City as ruined, while Nehemiah's picture is gloomy in the extreme. The most conclusive passage is Neh. 12 26, which names in succession the outstanding figures in Jewish ecclesiastical history from the reign of Darius Hystaspes (see above) to that of Artaxerxes Mnemon; they are: Yôyaḳîm, son of Yešûaʿ; Nehemiah, the Governor (*peḥah*); and finally Ezra "the priest, the scribe". Another valuable hint is given by Ezra 10 6, where Ezra mentions the fact that during a fast he occupied the *liškah* (attached to the temple) of Yôḥanan, son of Elyašîb. The latter was almost certainly the high-priest, who is called "son of Elyašîb" because his father, Yôyadaʿ, was high-priest only a few years, if at all, which may well have been the case. Yôḥanan, who naturally had his own mansion elsewhere, surrendered his chamber in the temple to the temporary head of the Jewish community, by virtue of the royal *firman*. Ezra can only have felt contempt for Yôḥanan, the fratricide[30] and transgressor

[29] See especially *Ezra Studies*, pp. 282 f.

[30] The fratricide is described by Josephus, *Ant.* xi, 7. The Persian strategos of Artaxerxes, named Bagoses (or Bagoas), plotted with Jesus (Yešûaʿ) to depose his brother Joannes (Yehoḥanan), the actual high-priest, and to instal the former in his place. The two brothers then quarreled in the temple, and Joannes slew his brother. In revenge Bagoses profaned the temple by entering the Holy of Holies, and laid on

of the law, which would account for his failure to call him "high-priest". The following table will indicate the chronological relationship of the high-priests during the Persian period.



the Jews for seven years (!) a fine of 50 drachmas for every sacrificial sheep. The former identification of this Bagoas with the famous vizier of Artaxerxes Ochus has been discarded since the Elephantine Papyri have showed that Bagoses (Bagohi) was governor of Judaea in 410—7, contemporaneously with Yehoḥanan. It is hardly probable that Bagoses held his office long; Josephus's source evidently confused him with his distinguished namesake, the great general and minister of the name, connecting him accordingly with an Artaxerxes, instead of placing him correctly under Darius Nothus. Since the death of Yešûaʿ presumably occurred early in the rule of his brother, we may safely place it about 410, more than ten years before Ezra's mission. Who the Tirshatha was in Ezra's time we cannot say; at all events he was friendly to the party of Ezra, which stood for the rule of the Law, against both patriotic hotheads and priestly aristocrats, enjoying in consequence the active patronage of the Persian government.

The best attack on the theory of Van Hoonacker is that of Kuenen (see above). Most of his arguments are no longer valid, after the Elephantine discoveries and Torrey's work on the text and arrangement of Ezra's and Nehemiah's memoirs. One point is important. Kuenen points out that two men who took part in the construction of the wall under Nehemiah may reappear in the Ezra memoirs: Malkîyah, son of Ḥarîm, and the priest Meremôt, son of Urîyah. But in Ezra 10 31 Malkîyah is named among the members of the *benê Ḥarîm*, the family of Ḥarîm, and so was probably another member of the family. On the other hand, Meremôt is probably identical with the Meremôt who was a contemporary of Nehemiah. A little reflection will show the possibility of this. The young priest who aided in the building of the wall in 444 need not have been over seventy forty-six years later, in 398, when he was the chief of the committee which received the gifts brought by Ezra from Babylon. As a matter of fact, if Ezra and Nehemiah were really contemporaries, it would be occasion for astonishment that, out of all the prominent men who are named in connection with each, only one should be mentioned with certainty by both.

The objection has been raised that in the Chronicler's work Ezra precedes Nehemiah. The reply is that Ezra probably affixed Nehemiah's memoirs to his own fragmentary compilation. The lack of a history of the postexilic period is no more difficult to explain than the similar lack of a history of the pre-Davidic age; Ezra was not interested in historical researches, but only in ecclesiastical succession (i. e., priestly and related genealogies) and theological orthodoxy. Hence Nehemiah's memoirs, since they deranged his scheme, were affixed rather than inserted in chronological order. It is interesting to follow the harmonizing attempts of later editors, which led to the rearrangement of the text in various ways; a good discussion of the subject, with emphasis on the importance of the oldest extant recension, I Esdras, is found in Torrey's *Ezra Studies*, pp. 1—114.

One clear result of the transposition of Ezra and Nehemiah in history is that Ezra's supposed importance in connection with the introduction of the Priest Code vanishes. It is impossible to place the publication of the complete Pentateuch as late as

400 B. C., for many reasons. Its official introduction certainly preceded the "Passover letter" written by Ḥananyah to the heads of the colony at Elephantine in 419, shortly after the close of Nehemiah's career in Palestine. Some years before, about 425, Nehemiah had expelled Manasseh, grandson of the old high-priest Elyašîb, because of his marriage to Nikaso, daughter of Sin-uballiṭ, as we learn from Neh. 13 28 f. and Josephus, *Ant.* xi, 7, 2, who gives an independent tradition, according to which Manasseh was nephew instead of brother of Yôḥanan, a very natural mistake. Since this Manasseh was made by the old Sin-uballiṭ high-priest of the temple on Mount Gerizim, to which he transferred the Jewish Pentateuch, still written in the archaic Hebrew script, it is clear that the Pentateuch had been published some time before 425. The most probable theory by far is that the Pentateuch had been completed in Babylonia during the latter part of the Exile, and published before the time of Haggai and Zechariah. During the fifth century the priesthood, with the assistance of the imperial government, gradually imposed it on Judaea, as well as upon the communities of the Diaspora. Finally, in 398, Ezra was able to gather up the scattered threads and bind Judaism into a solid and exclusive ecclesiastical structure. The Jews long maintained a clear tradition of Ezra's rôle, which they not unnaturally exaggerated. While he was not a gifted thinker or writer in any sense, and his soul was circumscribed by the narrow limits of a conventional orthodoxy, he must have been an organizer of remarkable ability. To Ezra's organizing talent Judaism owes, in large measure, the rigid system which preserved it, unbroken, through centuries of fierce struggle with Hellenism.

NOTES ON THE CLEMENTINE ROMANCES

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MANCHESTER

INTRODUCTION

THE early Christian literature abounds in unsolved problems, enough in number and variety to exercise the ingenuity and tax the learning of a whole generation of scholars; some of them are of the first importance for Christian origins and Christian doctrine; if we could resolve them we should probably be some way further on the road to the knowledge of 'what God and man is'; others are of the nature of literary conundrums, as when we enquire curiously into the authorship and origin of an anonymous or pseudonymous writing, without any ulterior reference to orthodoxy or catholicity. Such problems are scattered over the whole area of the Christian tradition from its first inception, and they naturally attract the attention of those whose scholarship has not been bereft of its inquisitive side by an overdose of what is commonly, but erroneously, called reverence, which prohibits us from enquiring closer into Christian origins through a fear of what we perhaps may find. However, since it is now fairly certain that the early Christian Church was widely different from what its traditional interpreters have maintained, and since the existing Christian literature is, after all, best described as *Reliquiae Sacrae*, it is the privilege of those who have the handling of unsolved or half-solved problems to occupy themselves more earnestly than ever with the literary and historical enigmas of the Christian religion.

Amongst the problems to which we refer there is none that rivals in perplexity and obscurity the question of the origin of the so-called Pseudo-Clementine literature. For some reason or

other the name of Clement has drawn to it a mass of writings, beyond any other apostolic or sub-apostolic person. It was, of course, natural that fictions in literature, Acts, Epistles, Martyrdoms, Preachings and the like should attach themselves to the names of the greatest of the Apostles; that there should be Pastoral letters of Paul, an Apocalypse of Peter and the like; but that, when the question of the relative dignities and authorities of Peter, Paul and James are in debate, these protagonists of early Christian movements should stand aside, and more or less completely leave the stage to the shadowy form of Clement, is one of the initial surprises of the situation. It is certain that one side of the Pseudo-Clementine literature is the conflict between Paul and Peter; why this should be obscured by bringing into the front of the arena, not only Clement but his father, his mother and his twin brothers, is not easy to decide. The literature to which Clement's name has been attached is a product of a very wayward imagination; we stand and wonder why the author (whoever he was) wants us to go down this particular road.

The Clementines, then, of which we are speaking, might equally be called Paulo-Petrines or even Jacobo-Petrines; they profess to contain real Apostolic history, and to be an expansion and completion of the New Testament itself. Why, then, should the half-imaginary Clement and the wholly imaginary family be brought forward at all?

We have two leading forms in which the Clementine traditions have come down to us; the one is known as the *Clementine Homilies*, the other as the *Clementine Recognitions*, the former being preserved in Greek, the latter in a Latin translation from the Greek, by no less a person than Rufinus, the contemporary of Jerome. The *Homilies* are so called because they profess to give us the discourses of St. Peter on a journey which he is making through Palestine to N. Syria and Antioch, with the object of confuting a certain wicked magician, named Simon, who, from one point of view, is a disguise of St. Paul. Thus they are not Clement's *Homilies* but Peter's.

The *Recognitions* are so-called, because in the novel which the writer has constructed, the Clementine family lose one

another on the grand scale and then find one another again. Clement's father loses his wife and his twin sons; then the wife loses the boys also, and finally the father himself becomes lost. Clement's rôle is to go in search of them, successively to recover his long-lost brethren, his mother and finally his father, and so to reunite them all on a Christian basis in the entourage of St. Peter. They may therefore be properly called *Clementine Recognitions*. Between these two voluminous writings, the *Homilies* and the *Recognitions*, there is a close internal connection of agreement and difference, but no one has yet succeeded in explaining the connection. Are the *Homilies* dependent on the *Recognitions* or is the converse the truth? or do they both derive their widely extended forms from some earlier and simpler literary ancestor? No one seems to know. The scholarship of the problem has been, almost entirely, in the hands of the Germans; but when Harnack wrote on the subject in 1893 in his *History of Christian Literature to the time of Eusebius*, he erected very few landmarks in the midst of the waste, and merely laid down the conditions which had to be followed in the making of a new edition of the two forms in which the documents were found; as that the internal relations of the two forms should be carefully indicated in the printed texts; that the New Testament references and allusions should be carefully studied; that the Patristic parallels should be carefully noted, and that there should be adequate indices; all of which is good advice and implies that we are, as yet, only at the threshold of the enquiry into the problems of the Clementines. Harnack gave a very complete summary of all the literary parallels on the Patristic side, and his work is a standard of reference for those who approach the subject.

He made, however, one bad mistake is supposing, as others had done, that the *Recognitions* were quoted by Origen, thus determining a literary *terminus ad quem* for their composition; and it fell to the lot of Dr. Armitage Robinson to show that the supposed reference in the *Philocalia* of Origen was not Origen's at all, but was to be credited to the editorial hands of Basil and Gregory. The same mistake was made by Dr. Hort in his lectures on the subject, which were published after his death

under the editorial care of Dr. J. O. F. Murray. These lectures are the one important English contribution to the study of the Clementines, and they are, somewhat pathetically, disfigured by the attempts of the editor to get rid of Origen by double brackets and foot-notes. There the matter stands for the present. In the following pages we propose to make a discursive enquiry into the meaning and tradition of the *Clementine Romance*, as a kind of preliminary which may be useful to those who have more time and zeal to apply to the question than ourselves.

I

That the Clementine Romance has its Origin in Twin-Myths.

Our first observation is that the literature which we are studying has its nucleus in a folk-tale, and the folk-tale finds its origin in an ancient twin-myth.

It has been abundantly shown in recent years that among the principal fears that beset our primeval ancestors, two stand out with an overwhelming insistence, the fear of the Thunder and the fear of Twin-children. We have called them sometimes, for convenience, the great Rational Fear and the great Irrational Fear. That is to say, Rational and Irrational from our point of view: it is certain, however, that they are equally real to the savage mind, and we have shown elsewhere that there is an intimate connection between the Rational Fear and the Irrational Fear, in the fact that, over wide areas of human life in early times, the occurrence of twin children was supposed to be due to the action of the Thunder-god, Thunder-man or Thunder-bird. So that the Rational and the Irrational are near neighbours. The Fear expresses itself, as regards the tabooed twin-children, in various acts of what we should call cruelty, ranging from the actual murder of the Twin-mother, the murder or exposure of her children, up to various degrees of isolation and exile, with such modifications as are suggested by an increasing sense of humanity and relationship. This is not the place to re-write the

history of Twin-cults:[1] what we have to notice is that the exile of the mother or her degradation socially, and the exposure of the twins and their consequent disappearance from the family circle, has furnished a series of motives in mythology such as

The Insulting of the Twin Mother;
The Recognition of the Twin Mother;
The Avenging of the Twin Mother;
The Recognition of the Twins:

and the like.

For example, when in the story of Thebes children are born to Antiope, named Zethus and Amphion, the twins are exposed; but they are rescued and brought up to manhood; and we find them coming back in search of their mother and taking vengeance upon her rival, Dirkē, by binding her to the horns of a wild-bull, as in the magnificent group of statues at Naples by Tauriskos of Tralles. The reason for Dirkē's appearance in the story, is, evidently, that the Twin-mother lost caste and became a slave in her own house. It is the insults upon their degraded slave-mother that the Twins avenge upon Dirkē. We have in this Theban myth a very good example of the folk-tales that arise from the Twin customs. Not very dissimilar from the point of view of Recognition of the Twins and their Vengeance is the case of Romulus and Remus, who, when grown to manhood, bring their own exposure and their mother's death home to King Amulius in the way that poetical justice may suggest and perhaps history affirm.

Here is an illustration from the Middle Ages which brings the matter down nearly to historical times and our own day. It was not uncommon in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries to find amongst the popular chap-books the story of Valentine and Orson. This tale relates how the sister of King Pepin of France, the lovely Princess Bellisant, was wedded to the Emperor of Constantinople. She became the object of the attentions of a wicked ecclesiastic who, when he had failed in his lawless

[1] We may refer to Rendel Harris, *Boanerges*, for a general study of the theme.

amours, endeavoured to blacken the lady's reputation, whereupon she fled to Paris to seek redress from her brother. Not far from Paris, in a wood near Orleans, she brought forth twins; one of them was promptly seized by a bear and taken to its den. While the unhappy mother sought to save it, King Pepin and his suite, riding through the forest, picked up the other child and took it to court. So one child became a bear-man and the terror of the woods, and the other a cavalier and the magnet of fair ladies. The unhappy mother was carried off to a castle in Portugal by a giant. Now everybody has lost everybody and the second part of the story begins. The brothers fight and recognise one another: they go in search of their mother, find her, and begin the acts of vengeance, and so on, until every inequality is rectified, and the princess goes back to Constantinople justified. One must read the whole story and note its parallels with the Esau and Jacob legend (with its twins rough and smooth) and other folk-tales. We refer to it because it has many parallels with the Clementine Romance.

Here we have again a Roman lady named Mattidia, the object of lawless affection on the part of her brother-in-law. To escape the toils she feigns a dream that Faustus, her husband, must send her and her twin-children, Faustinus and Faustinianus, to Athens. On the way they are shipwrecked, the mother is washed ashore at one spot,[2] the twins at another; nothing more is ever heard of them. The father seeks them far and wide, and in age and extreme misery, wanders about explaining that everything happens according to Destiny and the Stars. Clement alone, the youngest child, is left at Rome, and he now begins to move eastward to find in Palestine a new religion and old relations. A series of recognitions takes place, very prettily told with some dramatic force. Evidently, then, the Romance which we are studying belongs to a cycle of twin-tales. There is not a word of truth in it. Clement is added to the story in order to assist the discovery of the lost parents and brothers. It is a genuine novel, and not, in the first instance, a historical novel.

[2] We may compare the fate of Danae, with her Thunder-child, on the island of Seriphos, or Leto on Delos, or S. Tarnew, the mother of S. Kentigern, washed up on the shore of Fife.

The knowledge of this fact, our first literary discovery in the analysis of the legends, enables us to take a further step.

The opening of the story, both in the *Homilies* and the *Recognitions*, is a really beautiful passage. Clement tells his spiritual experience in brief but pregnant sentences, far superior to anything else in the book. Here is a fragment of it:

"I had a habit of reasoning, whence originating I know not, making cogitations concerning death; when I die, shall I neither exist, nor shall any one ever have any remembrance of me, while boundless time bears all things of all men into forgetfulness? And shall I then be without being, or acquaintance with those that are; neither knowing nor being known, neither having been, nor being? And has the world ever been made? And was there anything before it was made? etc. etc."

Now that we know the foundation of the story in twin legend, we can see pretty clearly that this beautiful opening chapter has been culled from elsewhere: and I have hazarded the conjecture that it is the opening of one of the lost Christian Apologies which has been utilised. Whatever be the exact source, the style of the writing betrays that it is a loan; and if this happens on the first page of the book, we may as well prepare ourselves to read the book with our eyes open for variations in literary tone and temper, and especially to be on the look-out for incorporated documents.

So much, then, for the under-lying folk-tale, and what follows from its recognition. The reader who is familiar with modern Patristic research will recognise that we are in a situation something like that which was developed by Dr. Armitage Robinson, when he detected that the *Apology of Aristides* had been incorporated with the Romance of *Barlaam and Josaphat.* The parallel is an interesting one, for we find that *Barlaam and Josaphat* has also been making loans, either from the Clementine opening section or from the sources of the Clementine story. Like the hero of one romance, the central figure of the other is beset by speculative doubts which wear away his body, and the coincidence in the language which describes the symptoms betrays literary dependence.

II

A proof that the compilers of the Clementine Romances borrowed from good authors who have preceded them.

It has been long known that the *Recognitions* have incorporated a section taken directly from the work of Bardaisan *On Fate.* The discovery came to light through Eusebius' use of the same work of Bardaisan; Eusebius makes very nearly the same extract as the *Recognitions* in his great work on the *Preparation of the Evangel.* Traces of the same passages were also found in the *Interrogation* of Caesarius, the brother of Gregory of Nazianzus; and finally the actual work of Bardaisan was discovered among the Syrian MSS. from the Nitrian desert in the British Museum, and published by Cureton in his *Spicilegium Syriacum* in 1855. Those who are not able to compare for themselves the Syriac of Bardaisan and the Latin of Rufinus may be interested to compare the translations of these writers with the parallel in Eusebius as given by Gifford in his edition of the *Preparatio Evangelica.* We will take the opening chapter of the common extract which deals with the Laws of the Chinese.

Clementine Recognitions (Bk. IX. c. 19) tr. by Dr. T. Smith.	Eusebius: *Preparatio.* (Bk. VI. c. 10) tr. by Dr. Gifford.	Bardaisan: *on Fate* or *The Laws of Countries* tr. by Canon Cureton.
There are, in every country or kingdom laws imposed by men, enduring either by writing or simply through custom, which no one easily transgresses. In short the first Seres who dwell at the beginning of the world, have a law not to know murder nor adultery, nor whoredom, and not to commit	Men enacted different laws in every country, some written and some unwritten: of which I shall mention some according to what I know and remember, beginning from the beginning of the world. Among the Seres it is law that none should murder	Men have established laws in different places, by that freewill which has been given them by God. Because the gift itself is opposed to the fortune of the powers which assume for themselves that which has not been given to them, I will begin to speak as I remember from the east, the head of the whole world.

Clementine Recognitions (Bk. IX. c. 19) tr. by Dr. T. Smith.	Eusebius: *Preparatio.* (Bk. VI. c. 10) tr. by Dr. Gifford.	Bardaisan: *on Fate* or *The Laws of Countries* tr. by Canon Cureton.
theft and not to worship idols, and in all that country which is very large, there is neither temple, nor image, nor harlot, nor adulteress, nor is any thief brought to trial. But neither is any man ever slain there; and no man's liberty of will is compelled, according to your doctrine by the fiery star of Mars, to use the sword for the murder of man; nor does Venus in conjunction with Mars compel to adultery, although of course with them Mars occupies the middle circle of heaven every day. But amongst the Seres the fear of laws is more powerful than the configuration of *genesis.*	nor fornicate nor steal, nor worship graven images; and in that very great country you cannot see a temple, nor a harlot, nor a reputed adulteress, no thief dragged off to justice, no homicide, no murdered man. For among them no man's free-will was compelled by the fiery planet Mars in mid-heaven to kill a man with the sword, nor by the conjunction of Venus with Mars to consort with another man's wife, though of course Mars was in mid-heaven every day and Serians were being born every day and every hour.	*The Laws of the Seres.* The Seres have laws that they should not kill and not commit fornication and not worship idols. And in the whole country of the Seres there are no idols nor harlots, who killeth a man nor who is killed; while they too are born at all hours and at all days. And Mars the fierce where he is placed in the midst of the heavens, doth not force the free will of the Seres that a man should shed the blood of his neighbour with a weapon of iron. Nor doth Venus, when she is placed with Mars, force any one of the men of the Seres that he should have connexion with his neighbour's wife, or with another woman: but rich and poor and sick and healthy and rulers and subjects are there: because these things are given to the power of the Governors.

The specimen chapter will suffice to suggest to us not only the dependence of Eusebius on a Greek translation of Bardaisan, and the dependence of the *Recognitions* upon the same translation, but also the reason for the insertion of the Bardesanian extract. It was clearly a part of the original scheme of the novelist to make Clement's father defend astrology and declare the stars responsible for all the family troubles, and then to make Clement reply to him in the language of Bardaisan. But

that is not all that we discover. The *Recognitions* show us that the way was not only prepared for a debate on Fate, but for an oration on Providence, and for a pagan defence of the Greek gods, with proper refutation. We may see this in the following manner.

In the eighth book the twins and Clement begin to talk philosophy to the old gentleman. I am surprised, says he, that you should know my opinions before I have expressed them. No need to wonder, says Nicetas (one of the twin brethren); we are experts in philosophy, and could tell from what you did say what school you belonged to. I myself, says Nicetas, have frequented the school of Epicurus; my brother, Aquila, here prefers the disciples of Pyrrho; my other brother follows the Platonists and Aristotelians: you have an expert company to address. Indeed, says the old gentleman, you are right that I follow Epicurus, but I go further than he; I refer everything to the fateful influence of the stars, to genesis as I call it. This means that we are to have a general discussion of Stoic, Epicurean and Peripatetic positions, with special reference to astrology. From the fact that we have liberal quotations *De Fato,* we suspect similar treatment in other directions. So we find that Nicetas (it should have been one of the others) proceeds to reel off a splendid speech on Providence, which is only broken by an occasional ejaculation of approval on the part of the old gentleman. Now this is just as little from the pen of the author of the *Recognitions* as Bardesanes' *De Fato* is from his workshop. It is a Stoic tract on *Providence,* one of their favourite themes to which we are treated;[3] and our business is to find out which of the doctors of the Stoic fur (as Milton would say) has been plundered. For there has certainly been burglary, flat burglary. Perhaps it is the lost treatise of Panaetius on *Providence*, which Cicero once asked for,[4] or perhaps it is Poseidonius.[5] At any rate, it stands for the present, dissected out of the *Recognitions* as

A Stoic tract on Providence;

[3] There is a line of such writers from Chrysippus onwards.

[4] Cicero: *Att.* XIII. 8 "Velim mihi mittas Παναιτίου περὶ προνοίας."

[5] Diog. Laert. VII. 138. "The world is regulated by mind and by providence, as Chrysippus in his fifth book on Providence, and Poseidonius in his third book on *the gods.*"

and we must print it separately. It is not really a part of the *Recognitions*, and we have to find out the author. When this and the Bardaisan extract have been removed, the bulkiness of the book will be much reduced, and the nucleus of the romance will be more evident. Let us, then, set this tract on one side. It occupies the eighth book from c. 9 to the end of c. 35. It is, as we have said, a pagan product, but it is pagan on the very best side, where Hellenism and Christianity overlap.

We come now to a third treatise, apparently also of Greek origin, but much more difficult of exact limitation. The foregoing examination shows us that the author copied Bardaisan, with only an occasional remark; and the Stoic tract appears to be handled in the same way, with only a few interjections: but now we come to an actual defence of the Greek gods, which occurs both in the *Homilies* and in the *Recognitions*, but not in such a clear tradition as in the two previous cases. As it will require somewhat closer criticism than a mere description in English, we will make it the subject of a special chapter.

III

That the Clementine Romances had a Greek defence of the ancient Mythology.

In the *Homilies* we find that, after Clement has attached himself to St. Peter, and has made the recognition of his two brethren Nicetas and Aquila, who had previously been a part of the retinue of Simon the Witch, there appear upon the scenes another twin-like pair, whom Simon has left behind him to cover his retreat. They are called Appion and Annubion, Egyptian names formed from Apis and Anubis. Appion is an anti-Semite, and has written many books against the Jews; perhaps he is the *revenant* of the one whom Josephus writes to refute. At any rate he is an old friend of Clement or rather of Clement's father, and after some preliminaries, Clement and Appion sit down to discuss what Clement calls the scandalous myths of the Greeks.

Olympus is put on the film. It is not an edifying spectacle; not even a drastic censorship could make it so. Appion is angry; he begins to explain that Zeus is the same as Zēn, and indicates boiling substance; Kronos is the same as Chronos, and means time; Hera is, of course, air. It is very ancient stuff, this allegory; and we are promised more of it presently. So the session adjourns. Clement, meanwhile, bethinks him of a correspondence which he once had with Appion, and which he has happily preserved, in which Appion forged a letter in defence of human passion as imitating the gods, which Clement was to use upon a certain fair lady with whom he said he was in love. It was a mere ruse on Clement's part and provoked a suitable reply. Clement reads it to the multitude before Appion's arrival, and no doubt it was very edifying to see Appion walk into the trap once again, and make a defense of the indefensible gods whom he had once recommended as good copy for young men and maidens. Appion has to explain that he never meant to be taken seriously and he then discloses the meaning of the Olympian stories by the classic method of allegory, which he proceeds to develop at length. One can hardly read it without the suspicion that it is either an early Greek document which he is quoting, or else it is some recent pagan attempt to counter the derision with which the Christian Apologists never ceased to cover the traditional gods. We have again run up against a book, but it is extremely difficult to find its limits. The difficulty increases when we pass from the *Homilies* (V and VI) to the corresponding sections at the end of the *Recognitions* (X. 50. sqq.). Here we are again treated to an allegorical explanation of Greek theology, but it is clear that the matter has been much abbreviated, and occasionally Latin gods have been added to the Greek Chorus: even in Greek new philological derivations are introduced. We have not only the time-honoured Kronos and Rhea, but we have Zeus derived from ζάω as well as ζέω; we have him explained as *a vivendo* as well as *vis caloris*; we have Athene explained as the personification of immortality (from ἀ—θνήσκω) etc. And then comes an allegory on Venus which is obviously Latin, and must be Rufinus' own jesting or the work of a later transcriber: e. g.

Venustas rerum quae ex aquis pulcrior apparuerat, *Venus* nominata est, quae aetheri tanquam fratri suo sociata, quod *concupiscibile* decus effecerit, *Cupidinem* genuisse memorata est.[6]

Now this of Venus and Cupid was certainly not in the Greek document which Rufinus was translating; but whoever put it in had noted that allegorically Zeus was the aether. Then we come to the barbaric explanation of Apollo as *solem circumeuntem polum*, but this is also in *Homily* VI. 10.

When we come to the allegory of Hera we are told that "Hera id est Juno, aer iste medius, qui de caelo usque ad terram descendit". It is assumed that Zeus himself is the upper air, the incandescent part, but the writer omitted to state this.

Our perplexities increase as Clement demands from his brother the explanation of the banquet of Peleus and Thetis, the apple of Eris and the shepherd Paris. We are told that Juno is modesty (pudicitia), Minerva is fortitude, Venus is lustfulness and Paris the senses. On turning to the sixth Homily we find a similar tale (VI. 15) "Hera is dignity; Athena, manliness; Aphrodite, pleasure; Hermes, language which *interprets* thought; the shepherd Paris, unreasoned and brutish passion". The surprising thing is that the heroes and demi-gods are beginning to appear in the allegorisation.

When the author of the *Recognitions* comes to the case of Peleus and Thetis, he merely says that they represent the dry and moist elements, by whose commixture all material things exist. It would perplex any commentator to explain this if he had not the parallel in the *Homilies* vi. 14, to refer to, in which Peleus is connected with clay (*πηλός*) and Thetis, as a Nereid, is connected with moisture (*νηρός*). It seems then that the allegories in the *Recognitions* have been much abbreviated. The *Homilies* are often nearer the original. It is none the less fairly clear that we are dealing with a genuine Greek defence of polytheism, probably Orphic in character, and taking as its starting point the theogonies of Homer and Hesiod. The opening sentences are probably what we find Nicetas saying in *Recog.* (X. 50):

[6] This is almost as bad as Arnobius, *adv. nationes*, iii. 33: "ac sensu, quod ad cunctos *veniat*, *Venerem*, et quod sata in lucem *proserpant*, cognominatam esse *Proserpinam*".

"Omnis sermo apud Graecos, qui de antiquitatis origine conscribitur, cum alios multos, tum duos praecipuos auctores habet, Orpheum (? Homerum) et Hesiodum. Horum erga scripta in duas partes intelligentiae dividuntur, id est, *secundum litteram et secundam allegoriam* . . . . Orpheus igitur est, qui dicit primo fuisse Chaos sempiternum, immensum, ingenitum, ex quo omnia facta sunt etc."

We are dealing again with a book which the author is transcribing, and it cannot be a Christian book: it must be either a modern and contemporary production, or else it is a work which has come down out of the past and belongs to one of the great schools of Greek philosophy.

Can we get any nearer to the source upon which our Clementine author has been working? The allegorical method of apologising for the amours of the gods and their Homeric battles is said to be as old as Theagenes (sixth century B. C.); it has made its mark upon Plato and the Orphic literature is full of it. For example, when our Romancer tries to explain away the meaning of Pallas, or at least to get rid of her personality, he tells us that the heat which reaches the aether causes in it a ceaseless *palpitation*, and this gives rise to intelligence which they call *Pallas* (from πάλλειν): but we are very near to this in Plato, *Cratylus*:

> p. 406. "We call her Pallas'.
> To be sure.
>
> And we cannot be wrong in supposing that this is derived from armed *dances*. For the elevation of oneself or anything else above the earth or in the hands we call *shaking* (πάλλειν) or *dancing*."

The parallel between Plato and the Clementines is obvious.

In the same way the Orphic hymns, whatever their date may be, confirm the nexus between Orpheus and allegory which we find in the Clementines: e. g. Johannes Diaconus commenting on Hesiod, *Theog.* 943. says,

> μαρτυρεῖ δὲ καὶ ἐν τῷ μακροτέρῳ κρατῆρι Ὀρφεύς·
> Ἑρμῆς δ' ἑρμηνεύς, τῶν πάντων ἄγγελός ἐστιν.
> Νύμφαι ὕδωρ, πῦρ Ἥφαιστος, σῖτος Δημήτηρ.

and so on, where we note especially the explanations of Hermes and the nymphs (sc. Nereids) as in the Clementines. Moreover, it is quite clear that some of the favourite allegories, such as Chronos and Rhea, Zeus and Hera, are as old, almost, as Greek literature itself. Equally true is it that they are very long-lived; their traces are found in the Neo-Platonic writers, and they are challenged as contemporary forms of controversy by Arnobius and Augustine. How then shall we be able to find a personal or a written source for our Clementine matter? Two roads suggest themselves to us: first we must note the peculiar features of the Clementine allegorisation; next we must look for the author by preference, in the school of Epicurus. The last suggestion comes from the fact that we have already found a Stoic tract in our romance, and it is, therefore, Epicurus' turn to be represented. As to the peculiar traits of our mythology a careful examination both of the *Homilies* and the *Recognitions* shews that the allegories are to embrace heroes and their demigods as well as bona fide deities. For instance, there is Prometheus to be explained, and Achilles and Polyxena and Paris. Of these the funniest is Achilles, who is said to have been born full-grown, and never to have put his lips to the breast. As lips are χείλη, a derivation from α privative and χείλη is possible in the infancy of Greek philology, which certainly did not start full-grown. Prometheus is an easier case than Achilles and requires no subtlety.

But why should there be such eagerness to explain these people away? The answer is that they are engaged in intercourse and controversy with the great gods, and they occur in Homer. Then they must be got rid of: we cannot turn Hera into air and leave Herakles solid. Consider, for example, the case of Paris; in Homer he is described as θεοειδής. The Stoics had identified God and the world, and had proved to their own satisfaction that God had a perfect form and was σφαιροειδής.[7] The Epicureans could not resist the temptation of suggesting

[7] e. g. Diog. Laert. VII. 140:
ἕνα τὸν κόσμον εἶναι καὶ τοῦτον πεπερασμένον, σχῆμ' ἔχοντα σφαιροειδές· πρὸς γὰρ τὴν κίνησιν, ἁρμοδιώτατον τὸ τοιοῦτον, καθά φησι Ποσειδώνιος ἐν τῷ πέμπτῳ τοῦ φυσικοῦ λόγου, καὶ οἱ περὶ Ἀντίπατρον ἐν τοῖς περὶ κόσμου.

that, in that case, Paris also would be spherical in figure. One can see the joke on the lips of Metrodorus, the great Epicurean and the second founder of the sect, in *Volumina Herculanensia*, VI. p. 31.

> ἡμεῖς λέγομεν οὐδὲ κόσμον Θεὸν οὐδ'
> ἡέλιον τ' ἀκάμαντα σελήνην τε πληθοῦσαν.
> Στωικῷ δὲ καὶ Περιπατητικῷ τοῦτ' ἔξεστιν
> λέγειν, ὅπως Πάριδι ἀνέχει μορφὴν τὸ σφαιροειδές.[8]

So it is clear that Metrodorus and the Epicureans knew how to make sport of the half-fledged allegories of their opponents. But what of Metrodorus himself? Do we know anything of the allegorical element in his own theology? Suppose we turn to Tatian's address to the Greeks; we shall find him affirming that Metrodorus of Lampsacus was not content to explain away the great gods in terms of elemental substances, but in his treatise on Homer, he tells us the meaning of Hector and Achilles and Agamennon, of Paris and Helen.[9]

Of these Achilles, Paris and Helen are explained in our romance.[10]

[8] Scott in *Voll. Herc.* emends to πῶς γὰρ ἰδίαν ἔχει. But perhaps the Neapolitan editors were right.

[9] Metrodorus' speculation upon Homer are alluded to in Plato, *Ion* p. 530 c., where Ion, explaining his skill as a rhapsodist, says that he knows Homer better than Metrodorus of Lampsacus. I have assumed that Tatian in the passage quoted means to refer the whole of the mythological series of explanations to Metrodorus, and does not imply that someone else has added the mortals as a supplement to the gods. For the mere allegorising of Zeus, Hera, and Athena, is much older than Metrodorus.

[10] There was a special reason for explaining away Agamemnon. He appears in Homer as a kind of human Zeus, so when Zeus is rarified, Agamemnon must also be volatilized. The case is very well put in Smith's *Dict. of Myth.* as follows: "He lives above all the Greeks by his dignity, power and majesty (Il. iii. 166 etc.): and his eyes and head are likened to those of Zeus, his girdle to that of Ares and his breast to that of Poseidon (Il. ii. 477 etc.). Agamemnon is amongst the Greek heroes what Zeus is among the gods of Olympus. This idea appears to have guided the Greek artists, for in several representations of Agamemnon still extant there is a remarkable resemblance to the representations of Zeus".

The text of the passage of Tatian is as follows:

σέβειν δὲ τῶν στοιχείων τὴν ὑπόστασιν οὔτ' ἂν πεισθείην οὔτ' ἂν πείσαιμι τὸν πλησίον· καὶ Μητρόδωρος δὲ ὁ Λαμψακηνὸς ἐν τῷ περὶ Ὁμήρου λίαν εὐήθως διείλεκται, πάντα εἰς ἀλληγορίαν μετάγων, οὔτε γὰρ Ἥραν οὔτε Ἀθηνᾶν οὔτε Δία τοῦτ' εἶναί φησιν ὅπερ οἱ περιβόλους καὶ τεμένη καθιδρύσαντες νομίζουσιν, φύσεως δὲ ὑποστάσεις καὶ στοιχείων διακοσμήσεις· καὶ τὸν Ἕκτορα δὲ καὶ τὸν Ἀχιλλέα, δηλαδὴ καὶ τὸν Ἀγαμέμνονα καὶ πάντας ἁπαξαπλῶς Ἕλληνάς τε καὶ βαρβάρους σὺν τῇ Ἑλένῃ καὶ τῷ Πάριδι τῆς αὐτῆς φύσεως ὑπάρχοντας χάριν οἰκονομίας ἐρεῖτε παρεισῆχθαι, οὐδενὸς ὄντος τῶν προειρημένων ἀνθρώπων. *Oratio ad Graecos.* 21.

Here then we have the artist of our quest, and we may find from Diogenes Laertius (ii. 3.), that Metrodorus was the first to apply the conceptions of physics to the interpretation of Homer. It is the explanations of Metrodorus that underlie the Clementine text.

We may, then, suggest that the author of the Clementine Romances has incorporated matter from the writings of Metrodorus the Epicurean as well as from Bardaisan, from an unknown Stoic writer on *Providence*, and perhaps from one of the lost Christian Apologies.

Let us now see whether we can get any further clue to the Stoic writer on Providence.

In the course of his argument Nicetas turns aside to comment on the views of philosophers with regard to the origins of the world. He makes a catalogue of the various hypotheses that have been current, as that

Pythagoras said the origin was	numbers:
Callistratus	qualities
Alcmaeon	contrarieties
Anaximander	the indeterminate (*τὸ ἄπειρον*)
Anaxagoras	equalities of parts (*ὁμοιομερίαι*)
Epicurus	atoms
Diodorus	*ἀμερῆ* (indivisibles)
Asclepias	*ὄγκους* (tumours):

The Geometers	boundaries
Thales	water
Heraclitus	fire
Diogenes	air
Parmenides	earth
Zeno, Empedocles and Plato	the four elements.
Aristotle	the four plus a fifth which is ἀκατονόμαστον.

We find similar lists in those who write upon the tenets of philosophers, as for instance in Plutarch, in Cicero, in Sextus Empiricus, in Philo etc. From these it is not difficult to restore the Greek equivalents of the terms in the *Recognitions*: and at the same time it comes to light that the tabulated lists are not independent; they fall into groups and are evidently internally connected. For example, the series in Philo *De Providentia* is nearly the same as the one in Plutarch, *De placitis philosophorum*, and so on.

The tradition of these opinions regarding the origin of the world is discussed by Diels in his *Doxographi Graeci*, and he points out that the nearest neighbour to the table in the *Recognitions* is a catalogue in the writings of Sextus Empiricus and that their common ancestor was a Stoic work composed at some time between Seneca and the Antonines.[11]

It is possible that we may find a closer identification by examining more carefully what the Stoic writers say on this favourite theme of theirs. Meanwhile we have gained ground in another direction. It becomes clear that the author or authors of the Clementines had a library of philosophical books, from which extracts were being made in the course of the composition. They have told us, almost in so many words, that this library comprised writers of all the great schools; that it contained Epicurean, Stoic and Pyrrhonean works, as well as some writers on Fate and the influences of the Stars. We are now going to show that the Clementine Homilist has transcribed a long section from the Epistles of Chrysippus the Stoic. The proof of this requires a chapter to itself, as follows.

[11] See Diels, *Doxographi*, p. 250; Sextus Empiricus *Hypotyposes*. iii. 6.

IV

That the Clementine Homilist transcribed an epistle of Chrysippus the Stoic.

One of the perplexities of a critic who tries to unravel the literary structure of the Clementine literature is caused by the intrusion of the incidents connected with Appion and Annubis to which we have referred above. Appion is the leading figure of the pair, but both of them are followers of Simon Magus, and they are genuine pagans; Appion in particular, who is said to be an old friend of Clement's father, is a pronounced anti-Semite, who finds a literary parallel in the Appion against whom Josephus writes. For he, also, is said to have written many books against the Jews, as Josephus' antagonist had done. Appion undertakes the defence of the established religion, and is refuted by Peter and by Clement. It is not, however, a case such as we are commonly introduced to by Christian Apologists. We are not concerned with the arguments, on one side or another, to prove that the elements cannot be gods, nor the heavenly bodies: we are not limited to a recitation of the indecencies of the Olympians by Clement, with an explanation of the same by Appion. The curious feature in the story is that Appion plays two parts: on the one hand he takes Olympian amours for granted, and recommends them for imitation; on the other hand he uses the method of allegory, and leaves us nothing to imitate and nothing to blame.

Clement explains to the people during Appion's absence, that, when he was suffering much both in mind and body from religious perplexity and doubt, Appion had visited him, and, under the supposition that Clement's troubles were due to the pangs of despised love, undertook to write an erotic epistle, which should be given by Clement to the object of his supposed affection and secure her response to the same. The letter is annexed by the author of the Clementines. In parts it is so indecent as to make translation impossible. The worst vices are covered by the patronage of the gods on the one hand, and the philosophers on the other.

From what we already know of the literary method of the author of the Clementines, we are quite safe in saying that this letter is taken from a volume of erotic epistles. When Appion is brought face to face with this composition of his, he evades the condemnation which even an average Greek crowd would pronounce, by saying that he never meant it seriously, and then proceeds to give one of the many allegorical explanations of the nature and actions of the gods.

Who, then, was the author of this erotic epistle? The writer leaves the key in the lock for us; he tells us that *Chrysippus the Stoic, in his erotic epistles* describes an obscene statue of Zeus and Hera to be seen at Argos. It is natural to conclude that the letter of Appion is really one of Chrysippus' letters, in which a sentence like this, 'And I have myself seen at Argos, etc.' was corrected to 'And Chrysippus, in his erotic epistles, alludes to the statue at Argos' etc.

It is quite clear that Chrysippus offered the example of Zeus for imitation, and at other times explained Zeus away; but this is precisely what Appion does in the tale; so that for this part of the story we may say approximately that Chrysippus is Appion and Appion Chrysippus.

The early Christian fathers who had any acquaintance with Greek philosophy were not slow to point out the moral corruption of the early Stoic teachers, in matters of which St. Paul would say it was a shame even to speak.

Theophilus of Antioch, in his address to Autolycus (III. 8) tells the same story that we have in the Clementines and Origen against Celsus has something of the same kind in the description of a shameful picture at Samos (apparently a variant of the Argos statue) which Chrysippus is said to have allegorised (*c. Celsum.* IV. 48).

Even Diogenes Laertius accuses Chrysippus of having written much indecent matter, and tells the same story of Zeus and Hera, referring it, however, not to the erotic epistles, but to a treatise on *the Early Physiologists* at the 600th line or thereabouts, which suggests that here also the indecency had been allegorised. The reference of Diogenes Laertius is exact, and tells us not only in what book to look for the Chrysippean

statement, but at what part of the book: so we shall be obliged to admit that Chrysippus told the story twice, once in an erotic epistle, and once in a treatise which he calls *Physiology*, the explanation of the gods in terms of natural phenomena. The parallel with the discourses of Appion in the Clementines is very close. We need not be surprised at the repetition of the theme in Chrysippus: he was not only a voluminous writer, but one that was constantly repeating himself.[12]

At first sight it seems almost incredible that so great a name as Chrysippus could be so badly tainted; but it can easily be shown that all the early Stoics (and to some extent it is true even of Epictetus) regarded vice in its grosser forms as a matter of indifference. In this respect the teaching and practice of Zeno and Cleanthes is almost as bad as that of Chrysippus.

We conclude then, that an erotic epistle of Chrysippus has been borrowed, wholly or in part, by the author of the Clementines.

We have in the foregoing rapid sketch reduced the Clementine Homilies to a skeleton in the shape of a familiar folktale, clothed with flesh and form by the use of a series of Greek and Oriental philosophical writers. We found traces of Epicurean and Stoic hands, and a possible use of a lost Christian Apology. The study of the Clementine literature will become easier, when we have in our mind such writers as Metrodorus, Chrysippus, Bardaisan, and an anonymous Stoic writer on Providence.

[12] See v. Arnim *Stoic. Vet. Fragg.* p. IX.

INTERPOLATIONS IN THE FOURTH GOSPEL

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IT is taken for granted that 7 53—8 11, and 5 4 do not belong to the true text of the Fourth Gospel and no attempt will be made in this essay to prove it. It would also be taken for granted that 21, does not belong to the main part of the Gospel if it were not for two facts. The first is that it is a thesis the truth of which many scholars still deny. The second is that the present writer is of the opinion that the person or persons responsible for the authorship of chapter 21 are also responsible for editing chapters 1—20. But before we can collect the arguments in favor of the second opinion, we must show that we have reasons for holding the first. Our first task therefore is to prove that chap. 21 comes from a different hand than do chapters 1—20.

The criticism which must be brought to bear upon this chapter is solely internal. There is not a single manuscript in existence which does not contain it. We will examine the chapter from three points of view, (1) connection, (2) style and vocabulary, (3) contents.

(1) *Connection.* After reading chap. 20 30–31, it seems strange that the same author should go on to describe another post-resurrection appearance. The verses are a grand finale to the Gospel; the seven signs are complete, Jesus has appeared three times to the disciples (to Mary Magdalene, to the Eleven without Thomas, and to the Eleven with Thomas), he has given his commission to the disciples (20 21–23), he has given them the physical proofs of his resurrection (20 20–27), the disciples have

clearly recognised him (20 25), and then we are given the conclusion which states that the whole book has been written that the readers may believe that Jesus is the Christ, the Son of God, and believing, they may have life in his name. After that, there seems nothing more to add. Chap. 21 comes as a decided anti-climax.

(2) *Style and Vocabulary.* If 21 was not written by the same man who wrote the main part of the Gospel, is was certainly written by one who had saturated himself in its thought and language. And yet there are minute signs that another hand has been at work. ἐφανέρωσεν ἑαυτόν in verse 1 is unusual to describe a resurrection appearance. The verb is not used in Mt or Lk. We have the passive for a post-resurrection appearance in Jn 21 14, and the reflexive in this verse and also in the spurious ending of Mk. The word φανερόω is itself a favorite one of Jn, but it is used generally of the self-manifestation of Jesus. ἐπί with the genitive τῆς θαλάσσης is entirely different in meaning from the same words in 6 19. The name of the sea, Tiberias, does not occur anywhere else in the Gospels except here and in 6 1, but the two references are distinct: 6 1 reads τῆς θαλάσσης τῆς Γαλιλαίας τῆς Τιβερίαδος, and 22 1 reads τῆς θαλάσσης τῆς Τιβερίαδος. In the first reference, both the earlier name and the name by which the lake came to be called in the second century are used; in 21 1, only the latter is used. (This may be noted as a minor proof of the comparative lateness of the Gospel.) Of course, this distinction does not necessarily prove difference of authorship, but it may be that τῆς Γαλιλαίας has been introduced into 6 1 by an editor as an explanatory note. ‖ οἱ τοῦ Ζεβεδαίου in verse 2 is quite unique in Jn. There is a marked enumeration of disciples here, which is alien to the general method of the author. Jn particularises his characters, but generally he does not name those who are not to form part of the dialogue. And when he does particularise them, he caricatures them. That is, he makes them into types, representing certain classes of people. "Jn makes the fishing an extemporised affair. Throughout his Gospel he nowhere describes the occupation of the apostles, whether fishermen, taxgatherer or anything else." (Abbott, *Proclamation*, p. 47). ‖ παιδία in verse 5

deserves mention. The disciples are nowhere else addressed by this word, but *τεκνία* is used in 23 33. Both *παιδία* and *τεκνία* are used in I Jn. ‖ *προσφάγιον* is *ἅπαξ λεγόμενον*. ‖ *ἀπεκρίθησαν* is used in an unusual way. It is generally used in conjunction with some form of *λέγειν*. Yet the use of *ἀποκρίνεσθαι* by itself is more common in Jn than in the Synoptics. This verse is almost exactly like 1 21. ‖ *ἰσχύειν* in verse 6 is a word found nowhere else in Jn. *ἀπό* with genitive in causal sense is found only here. ‖ *ἐπενδύτην* in verse 7 is found only here in the New Testament. In verse 8, *τῷ πλοιαρίῳ ἦλθον* without any preposition and *τὸ δίκτυον τῶν ἰχθύων* are both strange. ‖ *ἀπό* is used in a partitive sense in verse 10; *ἐκ* is used elsewhere in Jn for this. ‖ *τολμάω* in verse 12 is not used elsewhere in Jn. It is used, however, only four times in the Synoptics. ‖ *ἐγερθεὶς* in verse 14 has been noted by Moffatt and Bacon as a mark of difference between this chapter and the rest of the Gospel. Yet *ἀναστῆναι* and *ἐγερθῆναι* are both used in reference to the resurrection of Jesus in Mk, and in Mk 12 25, *ἀναστῆναι* refers to the general resurrection. In Lk, both words are used for the resurrection of Jesus, and *ἀναστῆναι* for the general resurrection in 16 31. Paul generally has *ἐγερθῆναι*, but in I Thess. 4 14, he has *ἀνέστη* for the resurrection of Jesus, and in I Thess. 4 16, he has *ἀναστήσονται* for the general resurrection. So that it cannot be said that the use of the one or the other verb can be cited in order to find a difference of authorship or date. *πλέον τούτων* seems to refer to Mt 26 33; there is no ground for it in the Fourth Gospel. Also the phrase is not quite Johannine. To judge by 4 1, Jn would have used *πλέον ἢ οὗτοι*. ‖ In verse 20, the reference to the disciple whom Jesus loved as *ὃς καὶ ἀνέπεσεν κ. τ. λ.* is slightly unnatural from one who had described the act itself, but not so unnatural from an editor who wished to define more minutely the disciple referred to. ‖ In verse 25, *οἶμαι* is found. This is common in classical Greek in the same sense, but is found nowhere else in the New Testament.

It seems to me that these alone are the differences which can be fairly brought up. There are many more forms of expression which are found nowhere else in this Gospel, but they can easily be explained by the difference of subject matter.

(3) *Contents.* There are three distinct sections in this chapter, the one referring to the miraculous draught of fishes; the second, to the rehabilitation of Peter; and the third is the editorial note in verses 24 and 25. The first section has difficulties of its own. It reveals the disciples in a state of doubt and despondency, with no consciousness at all of having met the risen Jesus or of having received a high commission from him. They are listless and not active as we should have expected. They are slow in recognising Jesus, which is strange when we remember that, according to the preceding chapter, Jesus had revealed himself plainly to them. This points to the fact that the story of 21 1–14 is of the first of a Galilean series of appearances. Perhaps the author knew of two distinct lines of tradition about the post-resurrection appearances of Jesus, the one locating them in Galilee and the other in Jerusalem, and wished to make up what was lacking in the preceding chapter. There are two important theories with regard to the origin of 21 1–14. (a) The first theory associates it with the lost ending of Mk's Gospel, either as an edited account of that lost ending or as a variant of it. (So Rohrbach, *Der Schluss des Marcusevangeliums,* followed by Harnack, *Chronologie*, I, p. 696 f.) It is clear from Mk 16 7, that, if the conclusion were ever found, it would contain the account of a Galilean appearance, in which Peter, perhaps because of his denial, would have a peculiar part to play. It by no means follows that Peter would have the only or most important part to play in that appearance, as the prediction is that Jesus would appear to others as well as to Peter, but it does follow that Peter would have some particular intercourse with Jesus, because of the emphatic way in which his name is added to τοῖς μαθηταῖς αὐτοῦ. Now the last chapter of Jn agrees with this almost exactly. There are other disciples there, and Peter does have that particular business with Jesus of which Mk seems to speak. And yet the conclusion that Jn 21 1–14 represents the lost ending of Mk is by no means conclusive. For (1) Peter is not the only one or even the first to see Jesus; (2) it is not the eleven or the disciples as a whole who are there, but only a definite number of them; (3) the connecting link between Mk's original ending and Jn is generally found in the Gospel of Peter. There we are told that the disciples left

Jerusalem, without having heard apparently that Jesus was risen, and the Gospel breaks off at the beginning of a fishing scene. From this it is inferred, because of the ignorance of the disciples, and because of the special mention of Peter in Mk 16 7, that the fishing scene in Jn and the Gospel of Peter both embody the lost ending of Mk. But the appearance 'according to Jn, is to seven disciples only, and therefore is not the fulfilment of the prediction in Mk. Also the Gospel of Peter may have taken the fishing scene from Jn quite as well as that both should have taken it from Mk. It seems conclusive that the author of the Gospel of Peter knew all four canonical Gospels. (4) Schmiedel and Moffatt find a fourth argument in the fact that Mk and Mt practically agree until they come to the spurious ending in Mk, and they say that it is therefore natural to suppose that Mt 28 embodies the proper ending of Mk rather than Jn 21. This argument is not conclusive. It is quite conceivable that Mt did not use Mk until after the ending had been lost. This possibility is made into a probability when we read the ending of Mt, which is totally unlike the Markan style. It is a mere orthodox catalogue, without anything individual or graphic. Above all, it is ecclesiastical and theologising.

(b) The second hypothesis is that Jn 21 1–14 is a story based upon the tradition embodied in Lk 5 1–11. Lk substitutes for Mk 1 16–20 a call which puts Peter first (a strange order), and which makes the power of Jesus the occasion for the confession of sin on the part of Peter and the recognition of the distinctiveness of Jesus, all of which is made to lead up to the appointment of Peter to the apostolic office. That there is some point of contact between the traditions of Lk and Jn is clear. The Gentile mission is plainly symbolised in both. There are vital differences between the stories of Lk and Jn, and the absence of linguistic likenesses between them goes to show that they were relying upon a common oral tradition which was not known to Mk and Mt. This common oral tradition seems to show itself in many other scenes relating to the latter part of the ministry of Jesus. The tradition centres round Jerusalem.

The rehabilitation of Peter is the second part of the concluding chapter, and it is clear that the incident is to be closely

connected with the preceding narrative regarding the draught of fishes. It is just possible that there were two separate stories floating about, one referring to a draught of fishes and the appointment of Peter, and the other referring to a post-resurrection appearance to Peter and the predictions referring to his death and that of the beloved disciple, and that these have been telescoped together. But it seems that the forgiveness of Peter is vital to the fishing scene. It is probable that the predictions are additions to the primitive tradition. It is rather unnatural to relate the story of the prediction of the death of the beloved disciple living until Jesus came, if that disciple were already dead. Jesus did not will that he should survive until the second coming. It is more natural that the story should be written about a man who was dead than that a man should write it in reference to his own future death. Besides, the teaching about the Parousia is similar to what we have in the Synoptics. It is not the kind of teaching that we generally have in the Fourth Gospel, in which the Parousia is treated spiritually as the coming of Christ or the Spirit in the life of the disciples and the church (cf. 14 2, 3, 18, 19).

The third section of this last chapter is simply the last two verses, 24 and 25. It is most unnatural that anyone who had written 20 30–31 should end his Gospel at 21 23. It is quite possible that he should have ended it at 21 24, verse 25 being an editorial addition. But it is equally plain that 21 24 does not come from the man who wrote the main part of the Gospel. Verses 24 and 25 must go together. "The 'we' of 24 includes the 'I' of 25, but excludes the 'he' of 24" (Zahn). Both 24 and 25 must be an addition not by one man but by a body of men, either the Ephesian or some other church or a group of apostles or disciples of the writer. There is practically no textual evidence for saying that the Gospel was ever published without 21 or even without 21 24–25. It may be therefore that the whole of chapter 21 comes from the same circle. It is almost a certainty that none of it comes from the author of chapters 1–20. It is absolutely certain that 21 24–25 comes from a group of men. It does not come from an unauthorised person, but is a supplement added to the Gospel not long after it was written and

probably before it was published, and in the same region where it originated.

We will now begin to look for interpolations in the main part of the Gospel. And the interpolations we look for will be those without any external evidence to support the hypothesis. For example *οὐ γὰρ συνχρῶνται Ἰουδαῖοι Σαμαρείταις* is held to be an interpolation. But we have external evidence for so regarding it. No attempt therefore will be made here to support the view.

(1) The first case I would point to is 5 28, 29. The reasons for regarding these verses as interpolated are: (a) They break the connection of verses 27 and 30, which naturally go together; (b) They are hardly compatible with 5 25; (c) They are alien to the main thought of the Gospel. The main thought of the Fourth Gospel on the question of judgment is clear. The resurrection of judgment, that is to say, the resurrection of the wicked, is nothing more than a deliverance of the wicked over to judgment. Eternal life is not a time conception, but an ethical and purely timeless one. In only a few passages does it retain a temporal meaning. In these, it refers to the future heavenly life (4 14 6 27 12 25). But in 5 28, 29, we have a totally unspiritual conception of the resurrection. *οἱ ἐν τοῖς μνημείοις* probably comes from Is 26 19.

(2) The references to the last day in 6 39, 40, 44, 54 are also probably interpolations. (So Wendt, Charles and Schmiedel.) The references are quite superfluous, they spoil and even contradict the context, and are against the point of view expressed in 5 24 8 51 11 25, which quite definitely maintains that eternal life is a gift enjoyed here and now by those who believe in Christ. We have this shown to us in chapter 11, where, as against the crude orthodoxy of Martha and the belief that her brother would rise again on the last day, Jesus says, "I am the resurrection and the life. Everyone who believes in me shall never die." The fact that all the four references to Christ raising the dead appear in the same context and nowhere else in this Gospel, the fact that they are entirely opposed to the spirit of the Gospel as a whole and are so like Synoptic teaching, points rather to interpolation by one who did not agree fully with the Johannine point of view than to the fact that a

writer like the author of this Gospel should, in one passage alone, fall back to such an extent into primitive ideas. Pfleiderer (*Primitive Christianity*) objects to this, and says that the Gospel was written almost solely to attack Gnosticism and to mediate between the Synoptic and Gnostic views. This necessitates it taking over without modification certain primitive ideas. But this thesis cannot be carried through. It demands too late a date for the composition of the Gospel. The Gnosticism reflected in this Gospel is only incipient. Also the purpose of the Gospel is much more complex than that. Wernle also (*Beginnings of Christianity*, vol. II, p. 136, 137), makes the Gospel a mediation between primitive eschatology and its Hellenization. "He is really a representative of the old eschatology from first to last; only, as an apologist, he tried to meet the Greeks in this point as in many others, by endeavoring to adapt the Christian hope for the future to their own views." But when Wernle says that Jn 14 1–3 can scarcely mean anything else than that Jesus will fetch the Christians to God and will not himself live upon earth, we begin to suspect his point of view. 14 1–3 can hardly be interpreted by anything else but 14 17–21.

(3) An interpolation is probably to be found in 4 2, "and yet Jesus did not baptize, but his disciples." (So P. W. Schmidt, *Geschichte Jesu*, II, 92 and Wellhausen, *Evang. Joh.*, p. 20.) This is a clear contradiction of the preceding verse. The whole question of the rival baptisms of Jesus and John is difficult and obscure. John baptizes, though Christ has come and substituted the baptism of the Spirit for the baptism of water. The disciples of John are indignant at the success of Jesus, a success which John is said to have predicted. They do not recognise Jesus, though John had acclaimed him. Jesus baptizes with water, though his mission was to baptize with the Spirit. Here we have a clear case of the feeling of the Christian Church obtruding itself into the Gospel tradition. It is not enough to say *quod quis per alium facit, id ipse fecisse dicitur*. That is only the harmonization of despair. It may be John's method to contradict the Synoptics, he may now and again be confused in his own thinking. But it would show unpardonable carelessness for an author to say one thing in one sentence, and give a clear

contradiction of it in the next. It is possible that the words arose in the form of a marginal note by a scribe to explain away a difficulty and that the words slipped into the text. Abbott (*Diat.* 1925) takes it as an anacoluthon due to a desire to make readers see the striking things at a glance and then gradually take in the rest. He refers to 1 15 and 20 18 as examples.

(4) Probable interpolations are 2 21, 22 7 39 12 33 and 18 9. Wendt marks these, not as interpolations, but as signs of a later writer using a Johannine source. We cannot now examine the whole theory. I take it to be wrong. But though the theory of Wendt may be wrong, some of his facts may be right. 2 21, 22 are certainly a poor explanation. What the words probably mean is, as Wendt and others say, "If you destroy the place of the worship of God, I, in the shortest space of time, will raise in renovated state that worship which you have abused." But the text then goes on to say that Jesus spoke thus of the temple of his body, and that, after his resurrection, the disciples remembered and understood. Pfleiderer, following Jakobsen, says the story comes from Mk's account of the cleansing of the Temple, and Lk's story of 2 41–52, and that Jn 2 19 comes from the Gospel of the Hebrews, and he takes "body" as equivalent to the Christian church. Except for the first statement, which is probably right, this is all mere conjecture. The logion of Jesus was certainly enigmatical, but it would have been enigmatical to a hopeless extent had Jesus referred to his own physical body, or to the church as being, in the Pauline phrase, the body of Christ. It is doubtful whether the author of the Gospel would have so interpreted the church. The fact that the saying was brought up against Jesus at his trial shows that his hearers also understood him to speak of the destruction of the Temple, though they misunderstood the nature of the destruction. The comment of the Evangelist shows a misinterpretation of a spiritual utterance which is unusual. His method is to spiritualise a saying having reference to a physical event rather than to materialise what is meant to be symbolical.

8 39 shows the same kind of thing. Jesus is reported to have said, "He who believeth in me, as the Scripture saith, out of

his belly shall flow forth streams of living water". These words are a favorite passage for exegetical discussion, but the solution proposed by Dr. C. F. Burney (*Expositor*, Nov. 1920) seems to be the best. He takes the stop to be after ἐμέ and then ὁ πιστεύων εἰς ἐμέ is part of the invitation of 7 37. (So E. W. Bullinger.) The passage quoted in 7 38 cannot be connected with any Old Testament reference. Dr. Burney takes the text to arise from a misunderstanding of מַעְיָן and מָיִם. When the verse is reconstructed, it reads, "He that thirsteth, let him come unto me, and let him drink that believeth on me. As the Scripture hath said, 'Rivers shall flow forth from the fountains of living waters'." This can mean that Christ, the object of faith, would be the fountain, and we are thus saved the difficulty of explaining what is unique in John, the fact of a believer himself being a source of inspiration. If we accept Dr. Burney's view, we have a wide field of study opened up for us. To what extent is the Fourth Gospel dependent on Aramaic sources? These are more frequent probably than has yet been supposed. Such a source lies, it seems to me, behind the difficult phrase of 8 25. Dr. Briggs thought that our present Gospel was a translation of a Hebrew original. But the whole tone of the Gospel seems to militate against this. The final decision on the question of origin is not a linguistic one. Cheyne (*Enc. Bib.*, "Nathanael") also suggests, in one instance, a mistranslation of a Hebrew original. But to go back a little. The text says that this saying refers to the Spirit, "which was not yet given, because Jesus was not yet glorified." Now, whether we take Burney's reconstruction or not, the preceding verse most certainly does not mean that. Not only so, it limits the glorification of Jesus to his death and resurrection, which is alien to the thought of this Gospel. The whole life of Jesus was a glorification before men, and it was only the consummation of the glory which was given on the cross, cf. 12 28.

12 33 is another case of misinterpretation. Jesus says, "And I, if I be lifted up from the earth (ἐκ τῆς γῆς), will draw all men unto me". The text then goes on to say, "this he said, signifying by what death he was about to die". This corresponds to 18 32. The meaning of the verse is therefore that ὑψοῦσθαι refers in the mind of Jesus to the crucifixion. But the context,

which refers to the glorification of Christ in his life, the use of ἐκ τῆς γῆς, and the general meaning of ὑψοῦσθαι as equivalent to δοξάζεσθαι is against this interpretation. Moreover, we have exactly the same kind of sentence in 21 19 (the appendix), and the same kind of interpretation. Jesus is reported to have referred to Peter's manner of life, but the writer interprets it as referring to his manner of death. Finally, 18 32 seems to be peculiarly inappropriate. There is no trace in 18 31, that the crucifixion was in the mind of Jesus.

The fourth case of misunderstanding is in 17 12, which is wrongly interpreted in 18 9. What Jesus means is that he has preserved his disciples from spiritual assaults. What the writer takes him to mean is that he had preserved them from physical enemies. Lock, in his criticism of Wendt, disputes this as being a misunderstanding, and says the disciple in his old age, looking back upon the life of his Lord, lovingly sees in the care of Jesus at the betrayal an example of his usual attitude. This rests upon a belief in a certain authorship of the Gospel which needs careful examination. It seems obvious also that the four examples cited must go together.

When we look back upon them, we see signs of similarity. (1) They are the only cases in the genuine part of the Gospel where the author presumes to say what Jesus meant. The general method is to make Jesus interpret himself. (2) They are all cases in which an utterance of Jesus referring to timeless spiritual facts has been interpreted so as to refer to temporal events. (3) All reveal the mind of the man or men responsible for the appendix, with the material interpretation of the Parousia, and the attitude to death. The conclusion therefore is that the author of 21 21–23, interpolated 12 33 18 9 2 21, 22 7 39 and 18 32 into the Gospel. We are thus delivered from a great deal of contradiction and an equal amount of subtle exegesis.

There is one more instance of conjectural interpolation that I would mention. That is 19 35, καὶ ὁ ἑωρακὼς μεμαρτύρηκεν, καὶ ἀληθινὴ αὐτοῦ ἐστιν ἡ μαρτυρία, κἀκεῖνος οἶδεν ὅτι ἀληθῆ λέγει, ἵνα καὶ ὑμεῖς πιστεύσητε. Upon the explanation of this passage, we must enter rather fully. The reference of course is to the water and blood coming out of the side of Jesus. Many

have tried to prove that this could happen, but they do not seem to have met with much success. Moreover, if we remember the meaning of water and blood in this Gospel, there is no reason why we should try to prove it. In three words, we have Christian theology symbolised: the life freely given up to God and the water of baptism. The really difficult point is not the fact, but the attestation of the fact. What is meant by ὁ ἑωρακώς? Is the author identifying himself with the eyewitness or distinguishing himself from him and referring to him as the authority for the statement? Nothing can be got out of the meaning of ἐκεῖνος. Schmiedel, noted as a grammarian, says, "The elaborate investigations that have been made on the question whether anyone can designate himself by ἐκεῖνος or not are not only not decisive as regards any secure grammatical results: they do not touch the kernel of the question at all". (*Enc. Bib.*, 2543). I take ἐκεῖνος to refer to the glorified Christ. We are saved thereby from bringing into the discussion a third man C who testifies to the truth of an event witnessed by B which is recorded by A. In spite of all the discussion to prove that ἐκεῖνος can refer to the writer, I remain unconvinced, for (1) to judge by the attitude in 1 14, whatever any other author would have done, the author of the Fourth Gospel would have spoken of himself in the first, and not in the third person; (2) it raises unnecessary suspicion for any man to assert that he is trustworthy; we instinctively disbelieve anyone who asserts so strongly that he is speaking the truth; (3) it is not the style of the author, or indeed of any author, to add such confirmation to the facts he relates.

On the other hand, to take ὁ ἑωρακώς to refer to someone other than the author is equally difficult, for if we do not believe a man whom we do know, it is absurd to refer to a second whom we do not know. There is no point at all in such a reference.

But if we take 19 35 as an interpolation, many things are made plain. (a) The connection between 34 and 36 is much better, and the prophecy is brought into close contact with the event. If 35 comes from the author, it would be more suitable after 37 than after 34. (b) The statement in 35 is of the same kind that we have in 21 24, which we have seen comes from a different hand than the one that is responsible for chapters 1—20. (c) The

symbolism of water and blood is easy to misinterpret. It is difficult to believe that a man should testify to his own trustworthiness. It is not nearly so difficult to believe that an editor should testify to the author's trustworthiness. The author probably did not believe the water and blood to be anything but symbolic. The difficulty is that the editor's grasp of historic fact was clearer than his grasp of symbolism. He has taken the author to speak the truth historically. But he has met sceptics. Thus we can say that 19 35 comes from the same hand as 21 24, and means, "The man who has seen these things and testified to them by recording them in his book is speaking the truth. We know he is speaking the truth. And above all, Christ knows he is speaking the truth".

Thus, we have as a tentative reconstruction of the Gospel; (1) the Gospel itself, chapters 1—20, depicting the life of Jesus in the light of the Prologue; (2) the appendix, written before the Gospel was published, by someone unknown; but this second man did not merely add the appendix. He saw fit to edit the Gospel; (3) the last two verses, 21 24, 25 and the attestation of 19 35 come from a body of men to authenticate the whole Gospel.

A SAMARITAN PASSOVER MANUSCRIPT

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IN the Forbes Library at Northampton, Mass. is a manuscript of the Samaritan Passover service. It was purchased in 1905, probably in a collection of books, for the library has no special record of its purchase, and the librarian is unable to tell where it came from. It lay for years untouched in the store-room, no one who saw it knowing what it was.

The manuscript is of heavy paper and contains 123 leaves. The leaves are $8^1/_2 \times 5^1/_2$ inclusive, the space written covering $4^1/_2 \times 4$ inches, with from 22 to 34 lines on a page. The writing is in general very plain and excellently preserved. The latter part of the manuscript is usually more compactly and obscurely written than the first part. It is bound in heavy embossed leather, but it may be surmised that this is not the original binding, for leaves 12 to 21 are placed between 1 and 2. Leaf 2 is a title page, in Arabic, giving the name of the scribe, Yahud Ibn Ishaḳ, and the date, twenty ninth of Sofar, 1151 (1735 A. D.). Leaf 65 reverse, also repeats the name and date of year.

The manuscript seems to be a complete copy of the Samaritan passover service with all the Scripture readings. Its excellent condition makes it an interesting exemplar of the Samaritan liturgical manuscript. I understand that such liturgical manuscripts are not uncommon, but I doubt if outside the larger libraries many exist which are in finer form or better preservation than this.

Red ink is used abundantly, and occasionally green and brown, as variations from the black of the manuscript. Not only are the

headings and rubrics usually in red, but it is used in the text for purely decorative purposes. Alternate lines are sometimes in color. Sometimes colored inks are used to make a symmetrical design on a page of prose (leaf 90), and occasionally lines of verse are arranged in triangles of alternative red and black (leaves 85, 86). Purely decorative designs are not uncommon.

The Passover service as given in the manuscript corresponds in general to the liturgy as printed in Cowley, *The Samaritan Liturgy* (Oxford 1909), pg. 93—128, except that Cowley does not print the Scripture selections. The headings, which are often in Arabic, frequently vary widely from the printed text; but there is no standard for these. Cowley remarks that they "have no literary character and may be varied according to the will of the scribe. They are very cursively written, often hard to read and harder to explain" (*op. cit.* xlii). Sometimes Arabic and Samaritan characters are used interchangeably.

Variations from the printed texts, however, are by no means confined to the headings. On the reverse of leaf 44 the scribe wrote, in alternate lines of red and black, a passage of 7 lines, and omitted a poem of 20 lines with heading, in Cowley, p. 100, 101. A later scribe has copied the omitted poem, with a variant heading, bottom side up on the margin.

The long passages from the bottom of leaf 54 to 58 reverse are not at that place in Cowley.

The passage beginning with the last line of 60 and continuing to 61 is not in Cowley p. 110, nor do I find it elsewhere indexed.

Leaf 91 contains a poem of 9 lines not in Cowley, but the last 6 lines of the page, to which this is prefixed, are in Cowley, p. 116, line 20 ff. On leaf 92 reverse, instead of the alphabetic poem in Cowley, p. 117, the manuscript inserts a long passage beginning with an account of creation.

In the middle of leaf 95 begins an alphabetic poem, placed by Cowley not in the Passover series, but among the Common Prayers (p. 5, line 10 ff.). The first stanza varies from the printed text and uses ב at the beginning. The poem is incomplete, closing at the top of leaf 96 with the ר stanza.

It is followed by another alphabetic poem, but using ה instead of א at the beginning, copied with variations and from the

Common Prayers, Cowley p. 56, line 8 ff. It also is incomplete, ending on leaf 96 reverse with the ו stanza. At the bottom of leaf 121 begins another alphabetic poem from the Common Prayers, which is found in Cowley, p. 12, the last line, to p. 14. The manuscript here also is defective, omitting the stanzas after ב, excepting the ת stanza, with which it ends on leaf 123.

In the Scripture passages there are some readings which seem to be scribal errors; there are readings phonetically accounted for, like the interchange of gutturals; but there are also expansions, condensations and paraphrases. I have had no opportunity to compare these with other manuscripts containing the Scripture passages, which Cowley does not print. There is, however, one notable peculiarity. It is the superabundant use of the word "Joseph" in certain passages from the story of that patriarch, on leaves 8 (reverse), 9, 11, 102, 103. The scribe has inserted the name often once or more in every line. On some pages he has so arranged the text that the repetition of the name falls in a column, extending on leaf 103 from the top to the bottom of the page. Such an extravagant repetition of the word destroys the meaning of many passages and makes their translation quite impossible. It might be called the Samaritan equivalent of the Japanese use of "pillow words" in poetry, used here, not for reasons of meter, but to honor the great Samaritan patriarch. Whether done in other liturgical manuscripts I am unable to say, but the Samaritan Pentateuch as published by Hildesheim, has no such superabundant use of the name.

BOOK REVIEWS

The Teaching of the New Testament on Divorce. By the Venerable R. H. Charles. Williams and Norgate: London, 1921. pp. xiv+127.

A scholarly treatment of this subject has long been a desideratum. Unfortunately, the book before us is not conclusive, though it contains much that is worthy of the high reputation of its author. We learn that the questions on divorce, asked of Jesus by the Pharisees, and his replies (Matt. 19 9 Lk. 16 18) refer only to divorces on slight grounds, and do not relate to adultery. Matthew 19 10–12 has nothing to do with divorce, but comes from a context on self-denial for the Gospel's sake (doubtless the author has in mind such passages as 1 Cor. 7 32–34 and Lk. 14 26). Mark 10 2–12 has been reedited for Gentile Christians; one change is the reference to divorce by the wife—something impossible in Jewish law. 1 Cor. 7 10, 11b gives a saying of Jesus similar to those in the Synoptics. 1 Cor. 7 11a is an interpolation; this removed, marriage after divorce on the ground of unfaithfulness is nowhere forbidden in the New Testament. These points are established, or at least made probable. The discussions of the verbs meaning *divorce* and *desert* and of *πορνεία* are of value. One wishes that in discussing the latter the author had considered the interpretation, as any sort of improper behavior, given by Selden (*Uxor Ebraica, seu de Nuptiis et Divortiis . . . Veterum Ebraeorum,* chaps. 19, 22), and other seventeenth-century writers.

There are, however, certain matters vital to the author's contention that the New Testament approves divorce for adultery, with subsequent remarriage, which are hardly acceptable. Contrary to general opinion, Archdeacon Charles holds

that Matthew's report of the saying of Christ which makes an exception of πορνεία is nearer the original than that of Mark, who makes no exception. One of his grounds for this opinion is that "the law which required the death of the adulterous woman and her paramour was still valid" (p. 19). But if Jesus accepted the punishment of death for adultery, there is no question of divorce for adultery, and we must not represent him as substituting divorce for death in Matt. 5 32 and 19 3–9. The author draws his conclusion that Jesus approved stoning as the penalty for adultery from the story of the woman taken in adultery (John 8). From this he infers that our Lord made no objection to divorce for adultery, or to subsequent remarriage. It is difficult to see how an execution, which left the guiltless survivor unmarried and free to marry again, can be equated with a divorce leaving both guilty and innocent free to remarry. The author supports his case by writing: "Jewish law, civil and religious, made divorce compulsory in the case of adultery, as we have already observed" (p. 9). But the fact "already observed" was that "this law (death for adultery) was in force during our Lord's ministry and for one or more years after its close . . . After 30 A. D. the husband was compelled by Jewish law to divorce his adulterous wife" (p. 5). This destroys the basis in John of the argument that Matthew represents the saying of Jesus. We are left as before face to face with the discrepancy between Mark, with Luke, on one hand, and Matthew on the other. The facts presented by the author make almost irresistible the conclusion that the interpolation was made in Matthew by one familiar with the Jewish law of divorce for adultery, or possibly with a similar Christian custom (see Allen's *Matthew* in the *International Critical Commentary*, p. 52).

Archdeacon Charles holds that 1 Cor. 6 13–17, in which believers are forbidden to defile themselves with harlots, teaches that unchastity dissolves marriage. The Apostle is not writing directly on marriage, but declaring that harlotry is opposed to union with Christ. Yet Romans 7 1–3, which draws an analogy between marriage and the law, and between bodily death and death to the law through the body of Christ, is explained as having nothing to do with divorce, but is called "an illustration

and nothing more" (p. 42). The two passages seem to be on the same footing; if the author need not consider Romans, he cannot use Corinthians to support his argument.

The point is made that Mark in his account (10 2–12) of the conversation of Jesus and the Pharisees omits from the quotation from Genesis the words "and cleave to his wife", found in Matthew; this clause is called "most pertinent to the argument of Christ" (p. 89). But since Mark does not omit the words "the twain shall become one flesh" he may be held to give the spirit of the familiar passage, and no significance can be attached to his omission. The author remarks on "Mark's wrong attribution of the verbs 'commanded' (ἐνετείλατο) and 'suffered' (ἐπέτρεψεν) to Christ and the Pharisees respectively", and on "the attribution by Mark to Christ of words which rightly belonged to the Pharisees." The verses are: They say unto him, Why then did Moses *command* to give a bill of divorcement? . . . He saith unto them, Moses . . . *suffered* you (Matt. 19 7–8). He . . . said unto them, What did Moses *command* you? And they said, Moses *suffered* to write a bill of divorcement (Mark 10 3–4). While the attribution of the words to the speakers is reversed, the first reference in each case uses *command* and the second *suffer*, as though by a formula: What is the law? The law allows . . .

We cannot found a working belief that Jesus countenanced divorce for adultery, and for that alone, on such interpretations as those of this volume.

But if the author is unsuccessful in establishing Jesus' approval of divorce, he suggests another sort of argument in his chapter entitled: Whom does God join together? Here he seems to follow at a distance the greatest of English writers on divorce—the poet Milton. Milton knew nothing of the modern scholarship which doubts the genuineness of Matthew's exception, and interpreted πορνεία as did Selden; consequently he countenanced divorce for other causes than adultery. His work is remarkable for his noble conception of the end of marriage (see "Milton on the Position of Woman", *Modern Language Review*, vol. 15, no. 1). Archdeacon Charles holds that every true union of man and woman is a marriage, without regard to

its celebration, and that the parties to a marriage are not joined together by God unless they are joined in heart, whatever may have been the rites of the Church. Moreover, divorce in reality takes place not in the act of the Church or State, but in the infidelity of the contracting parties. Such reasoning leads to the conclusion that the words of Jesus apply only to unions contracted in the right spirit, without even such exceptions as the adultery in the heart of Matt. 5 28. This consideration of the minds of the parties rather than of the outward form of the marriage obviously leaves the way open to free divorce, yet without violating the precepts of Jesus as the Archdeacon interprets them.

It seems that the attitude for one who both rests on the words of Jesus and also desires to restrict divorce is to accept marriage as a duly solemnized union, without looking into the hearts of the parties. And if the author is wrong as to the validity of Matthew's exception, the Churchman who denies all right of divorce is the consistent man. The alternative is to abandon literal interpretation of the words of Jesus for an attempt to regulate divorce in accord with the Christian ethics of the present.

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BRIEF COMMUNICATIONS

'The Code found in the Temple'

READERS of the Journal of Biblical Literature who have been attracted by Prof. G. R. Berry's article called *The Code found in the Temple* may be interested to know that his most important conclusion had been independently advocated in a little book published last year by my colleague, Prof. R. H. Kennett (*Deuteronomy and the Decalogue* by R. H. Kennett, Cambridge University Press, England, 1920). The two scholars have written in entire independence of one another, and as their common conclusions are in direct opposition to "the practically unanimous opinion of adherents of the documentary theory of the Hexateuch" — I quote Prof. Berry's words — their agreement appears to me to be worth emphasizing.

Their common conclusions are that the 'book of the law' found in the temple at Jerusalem in the eighteenth year of King Josiah, 621 B. C., was not the book of Deuteronomy or even the Deuteronomic Code, and that the Deuteronomic Code is later than Jeremiah, i. e. that it is "as late as the exile or later."

Prof. Kennett's tract is concerned with many other matters deserving a full review (see the *Journal of Theological Studies*, xxii, pp. 61—65 [Oct. 1920]), including a sketch of the evolution of Jewish religion and cultus during the period of the Exile. In fact it is obvious that this later date for the writing down of the Deuteronomic Code will necessitate a quite drastic rearrangement of our ideas about the Israelitic religion of that period, if we happen to have any. For that very reason I wish

to draw attention to the importance of Prof. Kennett's little book, now that the question has been so judiciously reopened in America as well as in England.

I am not going to repeat Prof. Berry's arguments or to quote Prof. Kennett's. Both of them very rightly bring forward the remarkable ordinance of Deut 17 15, forbidding the election of a non-Israelitish king, an ordinance inconceivable while the heir of David was actually seated on his throne. I would only here remind my readers that it was actually during the exile that a Jewish Prophet acclaimed a heathen monarch as the LORD's Messiah. "Thus saith JAHWE to his Messiah, to Cyrus" (Isaiah 45 1): it gives an added point to Deut 17 15, if we may regard it as a protest from Palestine against a too facile abandonment by the exiles in Babylon of the hope of national independence under a native dynasty.

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Hidalgo and Filius Hominis[1]

Son of man is generally supposed to denote Christ as the promised Messiah. But Jesus Himself never used this term in this sense. Nor does this phrase emphasize His relation to humanity as a whole (EB[11] 15, 349[b]).[2] Jesus spoke Aramaic, and *son of man* is the common expression for *man* in Aramaic. The original meaning, however, was not *filius hominis*, but *filius viri*, the son of a man, in contradistinction to *the son of a nobody*. The Spanish term for a gentleman by birth, *hidalgo*, Portuguese

[1] The following six brief communications are abstracts of papers presented at the meetings of the Johns Hopkins University Philological Association on Oct. 15, Dec. 16, 1920; Jan. 20, Feb. 17, March 17, and April, 1921, respectively.

[2] For the abbreviations see this *Journal*, vol. 38, p. 142. G[29] is the 29th edition of Gesenius' Hebrew Grammar by G. Bergsträsser; [i] = infra; [s] = supra.

fidalgo, is a contraction of *hijo de algo*, a son of something. The explanations *a son of somebody* or *a son of property* are inaccurate. Nor can we accept the etymology that this term represents Lat. *filius Italicus* which is supposed to denote an adopted Roman citizen, one upon whom the *jus Italicum* was conferred. *Italicus* would not have become *algo*. Our term *a man of family* denotes a man of gentle descent, while *a family man* is a man with a family or a man with domestic habits. C. D. Warner said in his book *A Little Journey in the World* (1889): Family will take a person everywhere. French *un fils de famille* denotes a young man of a good family or a son under the control of his parents. On the other hand, *un fils de la terre* is an *upstart*. Cicero, in one of his letters addressed to his friend Atticus, uses *terrae filius* for a person of obscure birth. In Persius' last satire, on the proper use of money, we find this phrase in the same sense. In Spanish, *hijo de la tierra* denotes a child of unknown parentage. In Oxford the buffoon, who made satirical speeches aimed at the authorities of the University, was formerly called *terrae filius*. In 1721 Nicholas Amhurst, who had been expelled from St. John's College in 1719, produced a series of bi-weekly satirical papers under this name, which were reprinted in 1726.

In Assyrian, *mâr amîli*, son of man, denotes a *full-born man*. Afterwards this term for *gentleman* was employed for *man* in general, and *man* may be used for the first or second or third persons. We can say, *A man tries to do his best*, or *One tries to do one's best*, or *I try to do my best*. The statement *Some one may lose his patience, and some one may come to grief* may mean *I may lose my patience, and you may come to grief*. In German, *man* is used for the impersonal subject: for French *on dit*, where *on* is derived from Lat. *homo*, the Germans say *man sagt*. Our phrase *A man cannot do that* may mean either *No man can do that* or *You cannot do that*, or *I cannot do that*. Similarly Jesus uses the Aramaic term for *man*, i. e. *son of man*, for *I*. In the answer He gave to the scribe who wanted to follow Him whithersoever He went (Matt. 8, 20): *The foxes have holes, and the birds of the air have nests, but the son of man has not where to lay his head* the term *son of man* stands

for *I*: the foxes have holes, and the birds of the air have nests, but *I* have not where to lay *my* head.

The distinguished Italian Hebraist Samuel David Luzzatto, in § 50 of his grammar of the Aramaic idiom of the Babylonian Talmud (Padua, 1865; English edition by J. S. Goldammer, New York, 1867; German edition by M. S. Krüger, Breslau, 1873; Hebrew translation by C. Z. Lerner, St. Petersburg, 1880) called attention to the fact that *hâhû gábrâ*, that man, was used for the first and second persons, and quoted a Talmudic passage where *that man is the enemy of that man* (Aram. *hâhû gábrâ bĕʿél dĕbâbêh dĕ-hâhû gábrâ*) means *Thou art the enemy of me.* A number of additional illustrations are given in § 49 of Margolis' *Manual of the Aramaic Language of the Babylonian Talmud* (Munich, 1910). In ZDMG 70, 555, 22 Torczyner has pointed out that *hâ-ʾîš ha-hû*, that man (plur. *hâ-ʾănašîm hâ-hém*) is used for the pronoun of the first person in Num. 16 14 and 1 S 29 4; but his view that *lâ-ʾîš* in 1 S 26 23 stands for *lî*, to me, is erroneous: we must read *lĕ-ʾîš* (cf. Jer. 32 19; Ps. 62 13; also Prov. 24 12). The Peshita and the Vulgate have in Num. 16 14; 1 S 29 4 *oculos nostros* and *in capitibus nostris* for *the eyes of those men* and *the heads of those men* (cf. Schlögl *ad loc.*). Rashi remarks that the answer given by the Reubenites Dathan and Abiram, who resented the supremacy of Moses, *Wilt thou put out the eyes of those men?* (Num. 16 14) is a euphemistic statement for *Wilt thou put out our eyes?* Rashi says: *Hâ-ʾănašîm hâ-hém: kĕ-adám hat-tôlê qilălatô ba-ḥăberô.*

In Hebrew the definite article is often employed where we should use the indefinite article. You say e. g. *to write in* the *book* for *to write in* a *book.* In the story of Joseph (Gen. 39 11) we find *It came to pass about this day* instead of *Once upon a time it happened*; see Gesenius' Hebrew grammar, § 126, s; contrast Skinner *ad loc.* (ICC). In a secondary addition to the poems of Amos (5 19) we read: *It will be as if a man flees from* the *lion, and* the *bear met him* instead of *As if a man flees from a lion and hits on a bear.* I suggested in the *Crit. Notes on Kings* in the Polychrome Bible (p. 191, l. 35) that the use of the definite article in such cases might be due to the fact that the Hebrew narratives and other literary productions were

originally recited. We can say in a fairy tale: *Then came* the *wolf* instead of *Then came* a *wolf*. We also use *certain* for *some*. In Mark 12 42 we read: *There came a certain poor widow* (καὶ ἐλθοῦσα μία χήρα πτωχή) and in Acts 17 28: *As certain also of your own poets have said* (ὡς καί τινες τῶν καθ' ὑμᾶς ποιητῶν εἰρήκασιν).

Dalman states in § 16, 7 of his *Grammatik des jüdisch-palästinischen Aramäisch* (Leipsic, 1905) that in the colloquial speech of Galilee *that man* or *that woman* could be substituted for *I*; in imprecations and asseverations these expressions are used also for the second person (*hâhû gábrâ* or *hâhî ittětâ* for *thou*, and *illên ʿámmâ* for *ye*). Marcus Jastrow remarks on p. 336[a] (printed in 1890) of his Talmudic dictionary that *hâhû gábrâ* and *hâhî ittětâ* were used euphemistically for *myself* or *thyself* (to avoid ominous speech or curse). *Cf. op. cit.* p. 209, l. 3 (printed in 1888). See also DB 4, 581, 4 and my paper *The Son of Man* in *The Monist*, January, 1919, pp. 123—131 (abstract in JAOS 37, 14).

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Greek *sīrós*, silo, and *sōrós*, stack

On our farms round wooden towers are used for the storage of green crops. These tall circular tanks (with roofs and doors) are known as *silos*. In Europe this name is given to the large warehouses for the storage of grain which we call *elevators* (MK[6] 11, 504; EB[11] 12, 339). But originally *silo* denoted a *cavity* in a rock, or a *pit* in the ground, for the preservation of grain. In Malta, wheat is preserved in hundreds of pits cut in the rock; a single silo will store from 60 to 80 tons of wheat which, with proper precautions, will keep in good condition for four years or more (EB[11] 12, 336[a]).

We find the name *silo* in French and in Spanish. In Latin it appears as *sirus* (Plin. 18, 306) and in Greek as σιρός, which means not only *silo*, but also *pitfall*. The *l* in *silo* is more original than the *r* in Lat. *sirus*. On the other hand, Lat. *ebur*,

ivory, has preserved the *r* of Assyr. *pîru*, elephant, while we find in Arabic (and the other Semitic languages) *fîl* with *l* as in ἐλέφας (AJSL 23, 262). Σιρός is the Assyr. *šêlu*, cavity (AJSL 34, 232) which was afterwards pronounced *sîlu*. The *i* in σιρός is long; we also find the spelling σειρός (AJP 39, 309[i]). Assyr. *šêlu* is a contraction of *ša'lu*, *šaglu*. In Arabic, the feminine form *šáglah* denotes a *stack* of grain; *cf.* Egypt. *šn'*, granary (Ember).

Several words signify both *pit* and *stack*, e. g. Ger. *Miete*, which represents the Lat. *meta* = Arab. *mi'tâ'*, means not only *stack* of grain, but also *pit* for the preservation of farm produce. For the *ie* in German instead of Lat. *e* we may compare Ger. *Riemen*, oar = Lat. *remus*. Vegetables stored in pits during the winter are usually piled up to some height and covered with earth to keep out the frost (CD 4513[a]). On the other hand, the superstructures of our silos are still sunk a short distance into the ground. Arab. *ṭábrah* (> Š of *bôr*, pit; *cf.* JBL 35, 321[i]) signifies *pit*, and *ṭúbrah* (which is identical with *çúbrah*; for the *ç* cf. JBL 39, 164[i]): *heap* of grain (*cf.* Heb. *çibbûr* and Lat. *saburra*, ZDMG 64, 407, l. 10). Arab. *rakâm*, heap, which is identical with Assyr. *karmu*, Ethiop. *kemr*, and Heb. *rĕkamîm* (Is. 40 4; see JHUC, No. 320, p. 50[i]; JSOR 2, 82, n. 30) is a transposition of *makâr*, pit, from *kûr*, to dig; cf. *kĕ-tô mikmár* (Is. 51 20) i. e. *sicut urus fovea captus* (JBL 36, 254).

Σωρός, heap, may be ultimately identical with σιρός, pit. It denoted originally a *heap of grain* (σωρὸς σίτου, Herod. 1 22). Σῖτος represents a feminine form of Assyr. *šê'u*, grain (Sumer. *še*): *šê'atu*, *šê'itu*, *šêtu* which was afterwards pronounced *sîtu*. Assyr. *ê*, which is a mutation of *â*, generally appears in Hebrew as *ô*, e. g. Assyr. *rêšu*, head; *çênu*, flock = Heb. *rôš*, *çôn* (ZA 31, 247[i]; JBL 36, 90. 258[i]; G[29] § 25, e). We find this *ô* in πῶρος = Assyr. *pêlu*, shell-limestone, which we have also in Μέσπιλα, i. e. *built of shell-limestone*, the name given in Xenophon's *Anabasis* (3, 4, 10) to the site of Nineveh (JBL 36, 98[i]; contrast Streck's *Assurb.* 274[i], cdxlviii[i]). The name Mosul (Arab. *al-Mauçil*, Junction, *i. e.* place where several roads meet) may be an adaptation of *Mespila* with progressive assimilation of the *p* as in Assyr. *iççûru*, bird = *içpûru* (BAL 94; JAOS 36, 417).

The Arabic name for *silo* is *maṭmûrah* which is identical with Heb. *maṭmôn* from which the word *mammon* is derived. For the assimilation of the *ṭ* we may compare Talmud. *qámmâ* = *qadmâ'â*, first, and *únnâ* = *údnâ*, ear (*cf.* ASKT 167[1]; BA 1, 264[1]) Heb. *maṭmônîm* means both *provisions* (wheat, barley, olive oil, honey) stored in silos (Jer. 41 8) and hidden *treasures*, just as our *hoard* may denote *stores* laid by and *treasures*. Ger. *Hort* is an old term for *treasure*. Syr. *aṣṣĕrê*, which corresponds to Heb. *ôçarôt*, treasures, is commonly used for *granary*, grain; *cf.* Am. 8 5 where we must read *niftáḥ hab-bôr*. There is no word *bar*, grain, in Hebrew: we must substitute throughout *bôr*, pit, silo.

Another Hebrew name for *silo* is *mĕgûrâ* (Hag. 2 19) or *mamgûrâ* (Joel 1 17) = *mĕkûrâ*, *mamkûrâ* (with partial assimilation of *k* to *m*). The meaning of the corresponding Assyr. *namkûru* or *makkûru* (= *mamkûru*) is not *property*, *possession*, but *store*, *hoard*, *treasure*. The primary connotation of *mamkûr* is *pitted*, i. e. *buried in a pit*. Assyr. *tamkaru*, merchant, which appears in Arabic as *tâjir*, is derived from the same denominative stem (root *kr*; cf. AJSL 23, 252; JBL 36, 141).

The barns referred to in the Bible were underground granaries (AJSL 23, 252; 34, 232; JBL 38, 133[1]). The pit into which Joseph was cast by his brothers, was a silo, as was also the well in which Jonathan and Ahimaaz concealed themselves at Bahurim (AJSL 26, 11). Varro uses *puteus* in this sense. The treasure for which the Athenian Callias (Plut. *Aristid.* 5) was called λακκόπλουτος, had not been sunk in a well, but had been concealed in a cache. These pits served also as prisons; they are still used for this purpose by officers of the French army in Algeria (see Bescherelle's explanation of *peine de silo*). The clause *there was no water in it* (Gen. 37 24) seems to be a subsequent addition derived from Jer. 38 6. Rashi remarks that *there was no water in it* is superfluous after *the pit was empty*. His view that there was no water in it, but snakes and scorpions, will hardly be endorsed by modern commentators. Even in Jer. 38 6 the second half of that verse (*in the pit there was no water, but mire; so Jeremiah sank in the mire*) may be a subsequent addition.

The *Tullianum*, in which many prisoners were killed or starved to death, is supposed to have been originally a cistern or well. The view that this ancient dungeon was a beehive tomb (EB[11] 1, 248[a], l. 3; 19, 104[bi]; 23, 590[b]) is untenable. The name of this earliest of the existing buildings in Rome, on the eastern slope of the Capitoline Hill, under the church S. Giuseppe dei Falignani, is not connected with Servius Tullius, but with *tullius*, fountain. Pliny (17, 120) speaks of the *Tiburtes tullii*. The only access to the Tullianum was a hole in the stone floor, through which the prisoners were lowered. It was a dungeon like the oubliettes in medieval castles (CD 4177[a]; *cf.* DB 4, 103[b]). The name *Carcer Mamertinus* was given to the Tullianum in medieval times (EB[11] 23, 590[b]). Arab. *çábara*, to confine, hold in custody, may mean originally *to put in a silo*. The initial *ç* instead of the causative *s* is due to the *r* (JBL 39, 164[i]).

In one of the Syriac versions of the legend relating St. Helena's rediscovery (PAPS 58, 238[i]) of Jesus' cross we read that the empress commanded to throw Judas into a dry pit and keep him there for a week without food (Nestle, *De Sancta Cruce*, p. 17, l. 263; p. 48, l. 10). Judas was one of the Jews in Jerusalem when St. Helena came to the holy city. He is called a son of Simon and nephew (or grandson; see *op. cit.* pp. 57. 58) of St. Stephen, the protomartyr, and Zacchæus who is identified with Nicodemus. After Judas had been baptized, he was known as Cyriacus and became bishop of Jerusalem.

The farm produce stored in silos undergoes fermentation (*cf.* Heb. *nikmár* = *nimkár* and Arab. *taxámmara* = *tamaxxara*, root *xr*) and develops noxious gases. When the wheat is to be taken out of a Palestinian silo, the pit is aired by throwing a bundle in and drawing it out again till a lamp continues to burn (JBL 38, 133[i]). Even our American silos are foul with carbon dioxid, corresponding to the choke-damp of mines. On Sept. 26, 1920 two boys were asphyxiated in an empty silo on their father's farm at the little village of Mechanicsville, about 7 miles N of Belair, Md.

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Asmodeus

The *New Standard Dictionary* states under *Asmodeus* that in Le Sage's opera (!) *Le Diable Boiteux* Asmodeus is the name of the demon who conducts Don Cleofas in his nightly adventures. In the noted French writer's satirical novel (1707) Asmodeus is identified with Cupid, and his lameness is said to be due to the fact that he had an encounter in France with the demon of selfishness, Pillardoc. The fight took place in the aerial regions, and Asmodeus was hurled to earth. Also in the twelfth canto (l. 6600) of Wieland's *Oberon* (1780) Asmodi is identified with Cupid. The opinion that Asmodeus is depicted in the Talmud as lustful is unwarranted. In Jewish legends Asmodeus is said to have been captured by Solomon's captain of the host, Benaiah ben-Jehoiadah. On the way to Jerusalem the demon knocked against a house, and overturned it, and when at the request of a poor woman he suddenly turned aside from her hut, he broke his leg. In the Christian pseudepigraph *The Testament of Solomon* (GJV[4] 3, 419) Asmodeus tells Solomon: My business is to plot against the newly-wedded, so that they may not know one another; I sever them utterly by many calamities (JE 2, 217—220). In this respect Asmodeus corresponds to Oberon in Wieland's poem, but the calamities which befall Huon and his spouse are merely disciplinary trials, just as Job's suffering is but a test of his faith in God.

The first mention of Asmodeus is found in the religious novel, known as the Book of Tobit, which seems to have been composed at the beginning of the Maccabean period, about 170 B. C. Sennacherib in the Book of Tobit represents Antiochus Epiphanes of Syria, who appears in the Book of Daniel, which originated about the same time, as Nebuchadnezzar. Tobit seems to have been composed by a Persian Jew (AJSL 24, 98) for the encouragement of his coreligionists in Palestine at the beginning of the Maccabean rebellion, just as Gen. 14 was written by a Babylonian Jew for the inspiration of the followers of Zerubbabel who rebelled against the Persians at the beginning of the year 519 B. C. (JBL 37, 210; JSOR 2, 77). The Syrian persecution was regarded as a divine chastisement of the Chosen

People (*cf.* Tob. 13 5. 9 and 2 Mac. 1 27–29; 6 12–16; also Tob. 13 12 in R. H. Charles' *Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha* and 1 Mac. 1 31; finally Tob. 1 17–19; 2 7; 12 12. 13 and 2 Mac. 9 15; 1 Mac. 7 17).

It has been observed that the Book of Tobit has an Iranian background. Tobit's daughter-in-law lived in Ecbatana, the present Hamadân, near the foot of Mount Elvend, 188 miles SW of the capital of modern Persia, Teherân. Even at the present day one tenth of the inhabitants of Hamadân are Jews. The town contains the reputed sarcophagi of Esther and Mordecai, also the tomb of the great Arabian physician and philosopher Avicenna who died in 1037 A. D. Tobit had deposited money in Rages, the Avestan *Rhagâ*, which is mentioned also in the Behistûn inscription of Darius Hystaspis: the Median Phaortes, who had rebelled against Darius in 522, fled to Ragâ, but was captured and impaled in Ecbatana. The name survives in the huge ruins of *Raį*, situated some five miles SE of Teherân. A historical sketch of Rhaga, the supposed home of Zoroaster's mother, has been given by Jackson in the Spiegel memorial volume published at Bombay in 1908.

Asmodeus, the name of the demon who killed the seven bridegrooms of Sara, is the Persian *Aeshma-daeva*. Aeshma is the Avestan demon of rage, and *daeva* means *demon*, devil. In Hebrew, *Aeshmadaeva* appears as *Ashmedai* = *Aįšmadaįu*: the first syllable *aįš* (cf. JAOS 37, 322, n. 12) became *aš*, just as Syr. *aik* is pronounced *ak* (Nöldeke, *Syr. Gr.* § 23, C) and *dâįua* was shortened to *daį*. In the Talmudic idiom final consonants are often dropped (Margolis § 4, o). According to Justi, *Aeshma* is connected with *ish*, to drive, from which *ishu*, arrow, is derived; he combined it 25 years ago with Skt. *ishmín* (RE^3 2, 142, l. 42). This, however, does not mean *driving, stormy*, but *armed with arrows* (JAOS 31, 50). In the OT, *Aeshma* appears as *Ashima* which is given in 2 K 17 30 as the name of an idol worshiped by the people of Hamath, *i. e.* the ancient capital of Galilee at the hot springs S of Tiberias on the Sea of Galilee (not Epiphanea on the Orontes, N of Homs-Emesa, SW of Aleppo). For the transposition of the *i* in *Ashima* instead of *Aishma* we may compare Lat. *asinus* = Sumer. *anši*

(ZDMG 69, 170, n. 3; OLZ 18, 203; AAJ 7; WZKM 23, 365). Both *asinus* and *ŏvos* are Oriental loanwords, but they cannot be derived from the Semitic *atân*, she-ass. Nor is the combination of *ŏvos* (beast of burden) with *onus*, burden, and *ἀνία* (Æol. *ὀνία*) burden, heaviness, grief, sorrow, satisfactory. We have a similar transposition in *Jamaica*, the original name of which was *Jaymaca* (or *Haimaca*) i. e. *Land of Woods and Water* (EB[11] 15, 134[a]; BK[14] 9, 864[a]).

Also the part played by Tobias' dog is distinctly Aryan. In the OT, the dog is regarded as an unclean animal. In the Talmud we read that no one should keep a dog unless it is chained, and Rabbi Eliezer said, A man who raises dogs is like a man who raises hogs, *ham-mĕgaddél kĕlabîm kam-mĕgaddél ḥăzîrîm* (BT 6, 299, 19). In the Book of Tobit Tobias' dog accompanies his young master on his journey and follows him when he returns to his parents in Nineveh after having cured his bride. In the Aramaic and Hebrew versions of the Book of Tobit the dog is omitted. According to some Catholic exegetes, Tobias' dog represents the Keeper of Israel; Raphael, the Messiah; and Sara, the Church of the NT.

Tobias also cured his father Tobit who had lost his sight when he was 58 years old. He recovered it after he had been blind for eight years. The cure of his blindness is said to have been effected by the gall of the fish which Tobias had caught in the Tigris. The liver and the heart of the fish, placed on the embers of incense, expelled Asmodeus who had tormented Sara for years. The blindness of Tobit, it may be supposed, is a subsequent exaggeration, as is also the number of the husbands of Sara who were killed by Asmodeus before they could consummate the marriage. In the Talmud we are told that no woman might marry again whom death had bereft of three husbands (*Yeb.* 64[b]; *Nidd.* 64[a]). In some parallels to the story of Tobias and Sara the number of former husbands killed in the bridal night is not seven, as in the Book of Tobit, but five or three (*cf.* GJV[4] 3, 241; also the Warsaw edition of the Midrash Tanḥûma, vol. 2, p. 124 and *Shab.* 156[b] = BT 1, 716, l. 24).

Sara's demoniacal possession may have been a case of hystero-epilepsy. In the NT, hysterics and epileptics are regarded as

demoniacs (*e. g.* Mark 9 17–26). If Sara always had in the bridal night an epileptic seizure followed by a fit of hysterics, this attack may not have killed her husbands, but it may have killed their love for her, and they may have disappeared as speedily as possible. An epileptic fit is characterized by a sudden loss of consciousness attended with convulsions. The seizure is usually preceded by a loud scream. The eyes roll wildly, the teeth are gnashed together; foam, often tinged with blood, issues from the mouth, while the contents of the bladder and the bowels may be ejected. The attack is followed by drowsiness and stupor (Mark 9 26) which may continue for several hours, or a hysterical attack may occur as an immediate sequel to an epileptic fit. The eyes may then be tightly closed, with the body and limbs rigid, and this stage may be followed by violent struggling movements.

The chief remedies for hysterics are asafetida and valerian which O. W. Holmes called *calmer of hysteric squirms*. Asafetida, the old pharmaceutical name of which is *devil's dung*, is found especially between the Aral Sea and the Persian Gulf. The Romans called this inspissated sap *laser Syriacum* or *Persicum*. The Greek name is *ὀπὸς Μηδικός*. The specific remedy for epilepsy is bromide of potassium, and bromine is derived from *βρῶμος*, stench. Pliny (32, 226) says that an epileptic seizure may be checked by the fumes of burning horns of goats or deer (*morbum ipsum deprehendit caprini cornus vel cervini usti nidor*). Hysterical patients often enjoy the most disagreeable odors: they may object to a fragrant flower, but like *e. g.* the odor of burnt feathers. The oil of valerian smells like stale cheese. It is found not only in the root of valerian, but also in the secretion of sweating feet and in the liver of the dolphin. Delphinic, which is identical with isovaleric (or isopropylacetic) acid, was discovered a hundred years ago by the great French chemist M. E. Chevreul. The fish caught by Tobias may have been a dolphin which was formerly supposed to be a fish.

If Tobias put on the embers of the incense, containing asafetida, the liver and the heart of a dolphin, which he had kept for several days, the *fishy fume* (Milton, *Paradise Lost* 4, 168)

may well have expelled the demon. At any rate, this remedy may have had a most powerful effect on Sara. It may seem strange that asafetida should have been used for incense, but this gum-resin is relished as a condiment, not only in Persia and India, but also in France, and in Northern Abyssinia it is chewed like a quid of tobacco in this country or betel-nuts in the East (BL 79). In England, valerian (*setwall*) was used for sachets in the sixteenth century. The nard-plant, from the base of which the famous perfumed unguent of the ancients, known as spikenard, was derived, is closely allied to valerian. The odor of *Nardostachys Jatamansi* is intermediate between valerian and patchouli which gives their peculiar perfume to India ink and Indian shawls. Hysteria (or *neuromimesis*) is essentially a lack of inhibitory power, and something nasty or dreaded may induce sufficient inhibitory power. A hysterical fit may be prevented or checked if the patient is threatened with something particularly disagreeable.

As to the cure of Tobit's blindness, Tobias may have tattooed Tobit's leucomata (Tob. 2 10) *i. e.* white opacities of the cornea with the soot of the charred incense mixed with the (evaporated and dried) gall of the dolphin. Black-lead or crayon drawings are set with a coating of ox-gall. The treatment administered by Tobias did not cure his father's blindness, it consisted merely in pigmentation of the leucomata (EB 1455). *Cf.* PAPS 40, 71—95.

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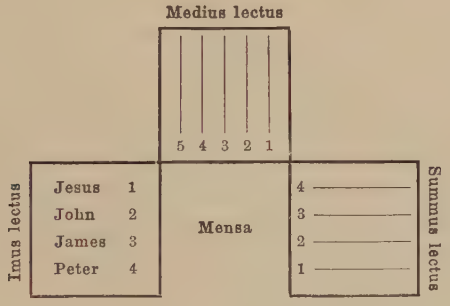
The Last Supper

When we speak of the Last Supper we generally associate with it Leonardo da Vinci's famous painting at Milan, which has become for all Christendom the typical representation of the scene (EB[11] 16, 447[b]). But the Master and His disciples were not seated along the far side and the two ends of a narrow table, with the disciples ranged in equal numbers on His right and left. In Leonardo's picture Jesus sits in the center, and John and Peter next to Him on the right hand side of the

Lord, while John's brother James has the first seat on the left side (see Brockhaus[14] 11, 83). In Mark 10 37 James and John ask Jesus, Grant unto us that we may sit, one on Thy right hand, and the other on Thy left hand, in Thy glory. Here καθῆσθαι is used, not κατακεῖσθαι or κατακλιθῆναι which we find in the Greek original wherever the English Bible has *to sit at meat*, although the Latin Bible has *accumbere*, *recumbere*, or *discumbere*. Meals were eaten in a recumbent posture. Accubation, derived from the East, was introduced in Rome after the first Punic War (264—240). Nor did it prevail in the Homeric times of Greece (BL 68). For the *chief places* (AV, *uppermost rooms*) at feasts the Greek text has πρωτοκλισίαι. For *sat at meat* (Matt. 9 10) RV gives in the margin: Gr. *reclined*: and so always (*cf.* Mark 14 18; Luke 9 14).

If the Last Supper was arranged according to the Roman fashion, there would have been three couches on three sides of a square table. Jesus would have occupied the couch on the left



side, and the place of honor would have been, not the place before the place of the host at the rear end of the left couch, but the place (*locus consularis*) at the left end of the couch behind the table (*cf.* Hor. *Sat.* 2, 8, 20—23). Ἀνάγαιον μέγα ἐστρωμένον ἕτοιμον (Mark 14 15) means *a large dining-room bedded and ready*, i. e. provided with dining-couches (*lecti strati*, *triclinia strata*) and the table set. In the Odyssey we often find ὀνείατα ἑτοῖμα; Theocritus (13, 63) says ἑτοιμοτάτη δαίς (*cf.* also Luke 14 17; Matt. 22 4. 8). Στρωμνή denotes a *couch* (e. g. Plato,

Prot. 12, A). Ἐστρωμένον in this connection does not mean *paved* or *carpeted* or *furnished* or *provided with cushions.*

Each couch was usually occupied by three persons, but to accommodate Jesus and His twelve disciples, two of the three couches must have been occupied by four (*cf.* Hor. *Sat.* 1, 4, 86) and one, by five. The three disciples on Jesus' couch were no doubt Peter, James, and John (*cf.* Mark 5 37; 9 2; 14 33): Peter in front, then James, then his brother John, and finally Jesus. The left couch was generally reserved for the host and his family. When John wanted to ask the Master a question, he leaned back toward the breast of Jesus behind him. Both rested on the couch in a semi-sitting position, supported on the left elbow. Ἀναπεσὼν ἐπὶ τὸ στῆθος τοῦ Ἰησοῦ (John 13, 25) means *leaning back toward Jesus' breast,* not *lying on Jesus' breast* (contrast Wellhausen, *Luc.* 91) and ἦν ἀνακείμενος εἷς ἐκ τῶν μαθητῶν αὐτοῦ ἐν τῷ κόλπῳ τοῦ Ἰησοῦ, ὃν ἠγάπα ὁ Ἰησοῦς in v. 23 signifies simply *one of His disciples, whom Jesus loved, was reclining beside Him,* not *There was leaning on Jesus' bosom one of His disciples, whom Jesus loved.* Ἀνακείμενος ἐν τῷ κόλπῳ αὐτοῦ is synonymous with παρακατακείμενος αὐτῷ.

If κόλπος is identical with Eng. *half,* the original meaning of κόλπος must have been *cleft* which Chaucer uses in the sense of *crotch, fork,* the point where the legs are joined to the human body, the bifurcated part of the human frame (JBL 35, 158). When Dives in Hades saw Abraham afar off, and Lazarus ἐν τοῖς κόλποις αὐτοῦ (Luke 16 23) Lazarus was in Abraham's lap. We find the phrase *in the lap of Abraham* in the fourteenth century poem *Piers the Plowman,* and Luther rendered correctly: *in Abrahams Schoss* (cf. *Mic.* 91). Michelangelo's famous marble group *Pietà* at St. Peter's in Rome (pl. ix, No. 13 at the end of MK[6] 2) shows the Virgin with the body of the dead Christ on her lap. *Cf.* AJP 42, 162—167.

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He who runs may read

At the meeting of the Johns Hopkins University Philological Association on November 16, 1917 Professor Miller presented a brief communication on the favorite dictum of Samuel Johnson with reference to Oliver Goldsmith, *Nihil quod tetigit non ornavit*, which is often quoted in the barbarous form *Nihil tetigit quod non ornavit*, even by scholars like Dean Stanley and Professor Jebb who was acknowledged to be one of the most brilliant classical scholars of his time (JHUC, No. 306, p. 10; AJP 38, 460). The glossary of foreign words and phrases appended to the *New Standard Dictionary* gives the correct form under *nullum*. We generally substitute *nihil*; in Johnson's inscription on Goldsmith's cenotaph in Westminster Abbey *nullum* refers to *genus* in the preceding clause.

Another familiar quotation which is always cited in an incorrect form is *he who runs may read*. We find it not only in the daily papers, but also in the works of the masters of English literature; *e. g.* Swinburne says in his *Shakespeare*: In Macbeth there is some ground for the general baseless and delusive opinion of self-complacent sciolism that he who runs may read.

The new Oxford dictionary, vol. 8 (1914) p. 897^{c}, e states that this quotation is an alteration of Hab. 2 2^{b} where AV and RV have *that he may run that readeth it*; but it is derived from the Genevan Bible of 1560 where we find in the margin: *that he that runneth may read it*. This Calvinistic version was the most popular Bible in England for more than 75 years. The translation given in AV is more correct than Luther's rendering *Schreibe das Gesicht und male es auf eine Tafel, dass es lesen könne wer vorüberläuft*. The LXX has Γράψον ὅρασιν καὶ σαφῶς εἰς πυξίον, ὅπως διώκῃ ὁ ἀναγινώσκων αὐτά, and the Vulgate: *Scribe visum, et explana eum super tabulas, ut percurrat qui legerit eum*. The real meaning of the line is: Write plainly on a large tablet that it may be read runningly, *i. e.* without pause and hesitation. In German you say *geläufig lesen* or *geläufig sprechen* for *to speak fluently*, lit. *currently*, French *couramment*. *Currency* was formerly used for *fluency*, readiness of utterance.

The prediction which Habbakuk is to write on a large tablet, so that it may be easily read, although it may take some time before it is fulfilled, is:

2 5 The proud tyrant[1] will not crush you,[2]
  though he open his jaws like Sheol:[3]
 6 All will utter against him
  railing rimes, lampoons, and pasquins.[4]
 4 Lo, his greed is reckless within him,
  but the righteous will survive despite their firmness.[5]

1 10 They'll make a mock of the great king,[6]
  all princes[7] are a scoff unto them;
 They'll laugh every stronghold to scorn,[8]
  they'll throw up siege-works, and take it.
 11 Then they'll sweep by as the wind, and pass on,
  they'll destroy them, sacrificing to God.

Johns Hopkins University PAUL HAUPT

[1] King Demetrius of Syria (162—150) who was a nephew of Antiochus Epiphanes and a friend of the historian Polybius.

[2] Read *ʕônêkka*, and *kî* for the following *ăšér*.

[3] *Cf.* Tennyson's *They that had fought so well came through the jaws of Death, back from the mouth of Hell.*

[4] Lit. *verses, songs, and poems.*

[5] In resisting the edicts of Antiochus Epiphanes that Jewish rites should cease, and heathen customs be observed under pain of death (JHUC, No. 325, p. 47). The Syrian tyrant regarded the constancy of the faithful Jews as rebellious obstinacy. *Cf.* Luke 21 19: ἐν τῇ ὑπομονῇ ὑμῶν κτήσασθε τὰς ψυχὰς ὑμῶν which does not mean *In your patience possess ye your souls*, but *Despite your steadfastness ye will win your lives.* See also Matt. 10 22 24 13; Mark 13 13; Dan. 12 12.

[6] The King of Syria.

[7] The Syrian generals sent against the Maccabees, especially Bacchides and Nicanor.

[8] Read *ʕîšimmêm ʕĕ-izbâḥ lêlôhâʕ*. Cf. JHUC, No. 325, p. 48.

The Son of Man = hic homo = ego

In the remarks on *Hidalgo* and *Filius Hominis*, presented at the meeting of the Johns Hopkins University Philological Association on Oct. 15, 1920 (see above, p. 167) I pointed out that the Aramaic original of the NT term *son of man* signified, not *filius hominis*, but *filius viri*, corresponding to the Assyr. *mâr-amîli*, son of a man, which denotes a *full-born man*, just as Assyr. *mâr-bânî*, son of a begetter (AL[5] 19, 148) means *aristocrat*. Afterwards Aram. *bar-nâšâ* = Assyr. *mâr-amîli*, gentleman, was employed for *man* in general, and *man* may be used for the first or second or third persons. In the Aramaic idiom of the Babylonian Talmud and in the colloquial speech of Galilee *hâhû gábrâ*, that man, may be used for the first or second persons, just as in Biblical Hebrew *hâ-'îš ha-hû* may denote *I*.

Similarly Lat. *hic homo* may stand for *ego*, *huic homini* for *mihi*, and *hunc hominem* for *me*; cf. Plaut. *Trin.* 1115, also 172. 507; *Capt.* 148; Ter. *Andr.* 310, *Heaut.* prol. 13. In phrases like *per hanc dextram obtestor te* the pronoun *haec* (cf. ἥδε χείρ, Soph. *Ant.* 43) means *my*, just as *haec urbs* (ἥδε ἡ πόλις) may signify *our city*, and *hunc in collum*: on my neck. In Greek we find ὅδε ἀνήρ (or ἥδε γυνή) for ἐγώ; cf. *Oed. Tyr.* 815: τίς τοῦδέ γ' ἀνδρὸς νῦν ἐτ' ἀθλιώτερος, also 829. 1018. Euripides says ὑπὲρ τοῦδ' ἀνδρός for ὑπὲρ ἐμοῦ, and Plato uses οὑτοσὶ ἀνὴρ οὐ παύσεται φλυαρῶν for σὺ οὐ παύσει.

In Mark 2 10, *ut autem sciatis quia filius hominis habet potestatem in terra dimittendi peccata*, the rendering *hic homo* (or ὅδε ἀνήρ) would have been more correct than *filius hominis* (or ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου). The Vulgate uses *quia* like ὅτι, not only for *because*, but also for *that* (cf. Job 19 25; Matt. 6 32; Luke 2 49; John 16 30 21 4. 12. 17; Acts 23 5; Rom. 7 13; contrast 2 Cor. 11 31; 1 Cor. 12 2). Also Heb. *kî* has both meanings, and it may be also (like *quod*, that, because, although) concessive; but this interpretation cannot be applied to Tertullian's *credo quia absurdum* (AJP 41, 180, n. 3).

Johns Hopkins University PAUL HAUPT

1 Sam. 13 21

I have just seen in the *JBL.*, XXXIX (1920), 77, the brief note by Mr. S. T. Byington on the meaning of 'pim' in 1 Sam. 13 21. Mr. Byington may not be aware that I advanced this interpretation in the Quarterly Statement of the *PEF.*, April 1914, in the following words: "The attitude of the LXX is clear that they read ושלש קלשון as ושליש שקל and the verse is therefore: והיתה הפצירה פים למחרשות ואתים ושליש שקל לקרדמים ולהצב הדרבן 'for the sharpening of the מחרשות ואתים the fee was one *pim* and for the קרדמים ולהצב הדרבן one third of a shekel (compare שלישית השקל Nehemiah 9)'".

Jerusalem RAFFAELI

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PROCEEDINGS

DECEMBER 27, 28, 1920.

THE fifty-sixth meeting of the Society of Biblical Literature and Exegesis was called to order by President Clay at 2.00 p. m. on Monday, December 27th, 1920 in Sherred Hall, General Theological Seminary, New York.

The minutes of the last meeting were read and approved. Reports of the Corresponding Secretary, the Recording Secretary and the Treasurer were read and accepted. The President appointed committees as follows:

To audit the treasurer's account, Professors Grant and Russell.

To prepare memorial resolutions, Professors Peters and Porter.

To nominate officers for next year, Professors Barton, Batten and Kraeling.

The committee on arrangements reported through Professor Batten.

The committee on the cataloguing of Biblical Manuscripts in America offered no report.

Papers were read and discussed as follows:

By Emil G. H. Kraeling: "The Advent Prophecy, Zech. 9 1-10."
By Paul Haupt: "Ensilage in the Bible."
By B. W. Bacon: "Pharisees and Herodians in Mark."
By G. R. Berry: "The Date of Ezekiel 45 1-8a and 47 13-48 35."
By T. J. Meek: "Canticles as a Conventionalized Tammuz-Ishtar Liturgy."
By F. P. Ramsay: "A Specimen Translation of Job."
By J. A. Montgomery: (a) "lehena Dan. 5 23; newali, Dan. 2 5."
(b) "Some Notes on the Greek to Daniel."
By David Levine: „Influences of Names upon the Method of Scriptural Poetry."

Monday Evening, December 27. The Society convened about 8.00 p. m.

Papers were read and discussed as follows:

*By A. T. Clay: "A Recent Journey through Babylonia and Assyria." (Presidential Address.)

By J. A. Montgomery: "The Jerusalem School."

By G. A. Barton: "The Proposed Mesopotamian School."

*By H. A. Sanders: "A Papyrus Manuscript of a Part of the Septuagint."

*By W. J. Moulton: "The Domed Caverns of Deir ed-Dubban."

Tuesday Morning, December 28. The members met about 9.00 a. m. The report of the Council was submitted and approved. The persons nominated were elected members.

The Committee on Memorial Resolutions asked permission to prepare these resolutions at their leisure. They will be added to the minutes. (See p. iv ff.) In the future it was agreed that the Recording Secretary should ask members to prepare in advance of the annual meeting records of those who have died during the year.

A suggestion was made that before the annual meeting abstracts of papers to be presented should be obtained and circulated and that the names of members who expect to attend should be printed on the final program. The latter suggestion was accepted; the former was reported to the Council with an encouragement that such abstracts be secured and circulated, but the right to veto such a course was given to the treasurer.

Papers were read and discussed as follows:

By J. P. Peters: "Psalm Notes: Ps. 84, 88, 144."

By K. Fullerton (read in his absence by J. A. Bewer): "The Feeling for Form in Ps. 104."

Report was made that the Managing Committee of the American School at Jerusalem had amended its rules to give the Society of Biblical Literature a representation on its Executive Committee.

The Nominating Committee suggested the following officers for the Society and they were elected for the ensuing year:

Prof. K. Fullerton	*President*
Prof. H. A. Sanders	*Vice-President*
Dr. H. J. Cadbury	*Recording Secretary*
Prof. G. Dahl	*Treasurer*

* Illustrated.

Prof. A. T. Clay Prof. J. A. Kelso Prof. J. D. Prince Prof. W. N. Donovan Prof. I. F. Wood	*Associates in Council*
Prof. H. Hyvernat Miss M. I. Hussey Prof. W. J. Moulton	*Directors of the American School at Jerusalem*
Prof. W. J. Moulton	*Representative on Executive Committee of same*

The suggestion of a committee on membership made by the Council was accepted and the following members were appointed by the chair: Cadbury, Grant, Haupt, Butin, Eiselen, Meek, Bewer, Kraeling, Margolis, Bacon.

The Recording Secretary was asked to write on behalf of the Society a letter of thanks to the General Theological Seminary for their hospitality.

Papers were read and discussed as follows:

By M. Jastrow, Jr.: "The New Texts of the Babylonian Myth and their Bearings on the Two Biblical Accounts of Creation."

By G. A. Barton: "Some Texts from Ashur of Interest to Students of the Bible."

By H. Heller: "The Character of the Variants to the Bible collected by Kennicott and De Rossi."

By H. J. Cadbury: "Acts and Luke's Preface."

By I. F. Wood: "A Samaritan MS of the Passover Service, in the Forbes Library, Northampton, Mass."

By J. A. Kelso: "The Water Libation in the Old Testament."

By Elbert Russell: "They Pierced my Hands and my Feet, Ps. 22 16, 17."

By F. C. Porter: "Notes on R. H. Charles' *Revelation of St. John.*"

Tuesday Afternoon, December 28, 2.00 p. m.

Papers were read and discussed as follows:

By Solomon Zeitlin: "Baptism for Converts in the New Testament and its Relation to the Jewish Halaka at the time of Jesus."

By L. W. Batten: "David and the Throne."

By M. L. Margolis: "The Biblical Hebrew for 'gloss'."

By Paul Haupt (in abstract) "The Fish of Tobias."
"Abraham's Bosom."
"Satan in Job."

Prof. W. W. Rockwell on behalf of the American Society of Church History invited the Biblical Society to cooperate with it

and with the American Oriental Society in a joint campaign for endowment. This invitation was referred to the Council.

A suggestion made by Professor Haupt that the Society make an effort to recover European periodicals lost during the war was also referred to the Council.

Papers were read and discussed as follows:

By David Levine: "Identifying Persons Referred to in Psalm 45."
By G. R. Berry: "The Holiness Code."
By T. J. Meek (by title): "The Origin of the Levites."
By F. P. Ramsay: "An interpretation of 1 Peter 3 19 and 4 6."

Adjourned at 4.30 p. m.

Henry J. Cadbury, *Recording Secretary*

MEMORIAL MINUTE

During the past year our Society has lost from its membership by death five active members and one honorary member. We desire to spread upon the minutes this very brief appreciation of these our colleagues:

Andrew Duff Heffern was born in Philadelphia, Feb. 24th, 1856. He spent two years at Amherst College but graduated at Harvard, where he did brilliant work, in 1878. The following two years he studied at the University of Berlin, graduating from the Episcopal School at Philadelphia in 1881. He was ordained deacon in 1881, and priest in 1882, in the Protestant Episcopal Church, and for almost twenty years served as Rector to a number of churches in Ohio, Pennsylvania and California. He received the honorary degree of D. D. from the Western University of Pennsylvania (now the University of Pittsburgh) in 1904. In 1900 he was appointed Professor of New Testament Literature and Languages in his Alma Mater, the Episcopal Divinity School in Philadelphia, and held this position until the time of his death, May 2nd, 1920. In 1915 he was lecturer on the Bohlen Foundation in Philadelphia, on *Apology and Polemics in the New Testament.* These lectures have not yet been printed but it is understood that the manuscript is ready for the press. For twenty years he was a member of the Society of Biblical Literature and Exegesis. While not a frequent contributor he

was always deeply interested in the work of the Society. Modest and somewhat reticent, those who knew him could not fail to love him. Scholarly and devout, with a gentle courtesy of manner, it was always a pleasure to meet him and to hear him.

Camden McCormack Cobern died May 3rd, 1920. He was born on April 19th, 1855: received the degrees of B. A. in 1876 from Allegheny College, S. T. B. in 1883, and Ph. D. in 1885 from Boston University, Litt. D., 1908, Lawrence College. After various pastorates he became Professor of English Bible and the Philosophy of Religion in Allegheny College in 1906. Among his publications were: *Ancient Egypt in the light of Modern Discovery*, 1892: *Critical Commentary on the Books of Ezekiel and Daniel*, 1901; *New Archaeological Discoveries and their bearing on the New Testament and upon the Life and Times of the Primitive Church*, 1917.

Prof. Hinckley Gilbert Mitchell was born at Lee, Oneida County, New York, Feb. 22, 1846. He graduated from Wesleyan University, Middletown, Conn. in 1873, and from the Divinity School of Boston University in 1876. He took his doctorate at the University of Leipzig in 1879, and after a very brief pastorate at Fayette, N. Y. became instructor in Latin and Hebrew in Wesleyan University in 1880, and in 1883 professor of Hebrew and Old Testament Exegesis, and then instructor in Semitic languages and literatures in the Boston University, 1883—1906. He received the degree of D. D. from Mt. Union in 1888, and from Wesleyan in 1901. In 1901—2 he was director of the American School for Oriental Research in Palestine. His fascinating talks on the work in Palestine are well known to all members of this Society, as also his various books: *Final Constructions of Biblical Hebrew*, 1879; *Hebrew Lessons*, 1885; *Amos*, and *Theology of the Old Testament*, 1893; *Isaiah I—XII*, 1897; *Tales told in Palestine*, 1904; *Genesis*, 1909; *Haggai and Zechariah* (Int. Crit. Com.) and *Ethics of the Old Testament*, 1912.

In 1901 Dr. Mitchell published a volume, "The World before Abraham," an honest and progressive contribution to knowledge, certain passages of which seemed to militate against the old idea of the verbal inspiration of the Bible. He was in consequence

of this refused confirmation by the Board of Bishops of the Methodist Episcopal Church in 1905. It was a bitter experience to him, for he loved his church and he loved his work at the Boston University. Five years later, in 1910, he was made Professor in Tufts College, a position which he held until the day of his death. A brave, honest heart, he left the world better for his living in it because he stood for the truth. He did a good work as a scholar and as a man. We have had few more valuable members and more active participants in the work of our Society than Professor Mitchell. He joined the Society in 1880 and thus was reckoned among our oldest members. In later years, we have not seen him so often at our meetings, but all the older members of the Society remember his constant participation and attendance in the olden times. He died in Boston May 19, 1920.

Israel Friedländer was born in Russia in 1876. From 1896—1900 he studied in the University of Berlin and the Rabbiner Seminar. In 1901 he won his Ph. D. at Strassburg, and a few years later was appointed Privatdozent for Semitic languages at the same university. His scholarly attainments had, however, attracted the attention of Dr. Schechter, and the following year, 1903, he was called to the Jewish Theological Seminary in New York as Sabato Morais Professor of Biblical Literature and Exegesis. "He was a skilled Arabic scholar, a good Biblical scholar; he had a real instinct for Jewish history", to quote the words of Pres. Cyrus Adler. His more important works are translations from the Russian of Dubnow's *Die Jüdische Geschichte* (1898), *Die Grundlagen d. Nationaljudentums* (1905), and *History of the Jews in Russia and Poland* (1916); his translations from the Hebrew of *Achad Haʿam's Essays* (1908, 2nd edit. 1913); *Der Sprachgebrauch d. Maimonides* (1902); *The Heterodoxies of the Shiites according to Ibn Hazna* (1909); *Selections from the Writings of Maimonides* (1909); *Die Chudirlegende u. d. Alexanderroman* (1913); *The Jews of Russia and Poland* (1915); his Jewish Essays, *Past and Present* (1919) and a Hebrew work on the Political Ideal of the Prophets (1914).

He was also a frequent contributor to journals in various

languages. He became a member of our Society in 1909, and was an active participant in its life. Dr. Friedländer was a devout Jew and an ardent Zionist. Almost from the day of his arrival in this country he took a foremost place in the activities and interests of his co-religionists. An idealist and a hero in heart, he volunteered first for service in Palestine, then to carry relief to the plague stricken Jews of Poland and the Ukraine, about whom he had written so much. It was on this mission, as agent of the Joint Distribution Committee of the various Jewish relief societies, that he met his death, July 8th, 1920.

William Sanday, D. D., LL. D., Litt. D., was born August 1, 1843, and died Sept. 16, 1920. He was Principal of Bishop Hatfield's Hall, Durham 1876—83; Dean Ireland's Professor of Exegesis and Tutorial Fellow of Exeter, 1883—95; Lady Margaret Professor of Divinity and Canon of Christ Church, Oxford, 1895—1919. His principal publications are: *Authorship and Historical Character of the Fourth Gospel*, 1872; *Gospels in the Second Century*, 1876; *Oracles of God*, 1891; *Inspiration* (Bampton Lectures), 1893; *Commentary on Romans* (Int. Crit. Com.), 1895; *Outlines of the Life of Christ* (from Hastings' *Dictionary of the Bible*), 1899; *Life of Christ in Recent Research*, 1907; *Christologies Ancient and Modern*, 1910; *Personality in Christ and in Ourselves*, 1911.

Dr. Sanday occupied a unique place among English New Testament scholars. Always both reverent and open-minded, he became increasingly a modernist, and special interest attaches to his last statements of his position in *Divine Overruling*, 1920, and *The Position of Liberal Theology*, which was being printed when he died. He was made an honorary member of our Society in 1891.

Henry Anson Buttz was born at Middle Smithfield, Pa., April 18th, 1835 and received from Princeton University the degrees of A. B. in 1858, A. M. in 1861 and honorary D. D. in 1875. On April 11, 1860, he married Emily Hoagland and had two daughters, Felicia (now widow of the Rev. N. W. Clark) and Julia, wife of Professor Charles Freemont Sitterly. After several pastorates in Methodist Episcopal churches, Dr. Buttz became instructor in Drew Theological Seminary, Madison, New

Jersey in 1868, teaching Greek and Hebrew, was elected Professor of New Testament Exegesis in 1870, and in 1880 became President of the Seminary.

Early in his teaching work Dr. Buttz planned an elaborate edition of the Greek Testament with critical apparatus, but issued only one part, *The Epistle to the Romans in Greek*, prevented from its further continuance by laborious duties of the presidency in which he saved the institution in times of financial panic and greatly extended its influence. He died on October 6, 1920.

REPORT OF THE RECORDING SECRETARY

The apparent membership of the Society is at present 239, or 11 more than reported last year. Thirteen persons elected last year have qualified for membership and eight elected in previous years. The secretary records with sorrow the death of one honorary member, Professor William Sanday, D. D. of Oxford, England, and of the following regular members:

Dr. Henry Anson Buttz, Madison, N. J.	Oct. 6, 1920
Prof. Camden M. Cobern, Allegheny College, Meadville, Pa.	May 3, 1920
Prof. Israel Friedländer, Ph. D. Jewish Theological Seminary, New York, killed in the Ukraine	July 8, 1920
Prof. A. D. Heffern, Divinity School of the Episcopal Church, Philadelphia, Pa.	May 2, 1920
Prof. H. G. Mitchell, Tufts College, Boston, Mass.	May 19, 1920

Respectfully submitted,

Henry J. Cadbury, *Recording Secretary.*

December 27, 1920.

REPORT OF THE CORRESPONDING SECRETARY

Dec. 27, 1920.

To the Society of Biblical Literature and Exegesis:

Gentlemen:

It is a source of great regret to the Editorial Committee that it comes before you empty-handed. I had expected to appear with the first double number for this year issued. Instead all I have to show is a revise page proof of the greater part and a

communication from Drugulin just received advising me of the receipt of a package containing additional matter for the number and promising proof thereof in my hands ready for this meeting. This proof has not arrived as yet. As you will remember, we had to wait for the referendum vote of the membership of the Society. Meanwhile the Editorial Committee was busy winding up the publication of the volume for 1919. Manuscripts had been received and edited by the time the decision was reached to print in Germany. When final negotiations were entered into with Drugulin, conditions in Germany did not favor entrusting our manuscripts to the mail. We were compelled to wait. Since the time that the first manuscripts were sent off, there have been delays both at the printing house and in transmission. The Yale Press recently brought to my notice the impatience of members and subscribers, of which I really did not have to be informed. I suggested that a notice be sent out explaining the situation and promising an early appearance of the first double number, let me say before the end of January, 1921 and the issuance of the second double number by the end of March if possible. Meanwhile steps will be taken to expedite the appearance of the new volume possibly before the year is over. The Society will kindly note that the German printers cannot be trusted even with the smallest corrections unless a revise is received at this end. The typesetters there are altogether unfamiliar with our markings, and mistakes in the English creep in at all stages of the revise. On the financial side of the transaction the Treasurer's report contains the necessary information.

Respectfully submitted,
Max L. Margolis.

SOCIETY OF BIBLICAL LITERATURE AND EXEGESIS
TREASURER'S REPORT FOR 1920

1920		
Jan. 1,	Balance	$ 780.12
„ 1,	Interest on deposit in Savings Bank	10.36
Apr. 24,	Balance from Yale press	255.25
June 29,	For Reprints	10.00
	Dues	698.10
		$ 1,753.83

1920			
Jan. 3,	Shea Bros. Programs		$ 20.00
Feb. 3,	Shea Bros. Circulars		13.75
„ 3,	H. J. Cadbury, Secretary for expenses		4.26
Mar. 4,	Tuttle, Morehouse & Taylor Co. Vol. 38, parts 2, 3		422.70
„ 31,	M. Isely, addressing bills		3.89
Apr. 24,	T. M. & T. Co. envelopes and bills		16.50
June 10,	H. J. Cadbury, expenses		3.09
July 7,	Cable to Drugulin		6.58
„ 27,	T. M. & T. Co. Vol. 38, part 4		243.36
„ 27,	Nat'l. Trademen's Bank, N. H. Draft to Drugulin for shipping extra copies of Vol. 34		9.56
Aug. 2,	Deutsche Bank, Berlin for 20,000 mk.		500.50
Sep. 18,	T. M. & T. Co. Reprints		7.67
Nov. 11,	Nat'l. Trade Bank N. H. Draft to Drugulin		1.10
Dec. 14,	M. L. Margolis, Editorial Expenses		35.00
„ 14,	Yale Press, Notices 56th Meeting		6.92
„ 14,	Yale Press, Envelopes for Notices		6.25
„ 25,	Cash on hand		
	In Savings Bank	310.36	
	In check account	142.34	452.70
	(In addition we have 20,000 mk. on deposit in Deutsche Bank, Berlin. See above)		
			$ 1,753.83

GEORGE DAHL, *Treasurer.*

Audited and found correct, December 27, 1920.
ELIHU GRANT ELBERT RUSSEL

MEMBERS OF THE SOCIETY[1]

HONORARY MEMBERS

Prof. K. Budde, D.D., Marburg, Germany.
Prof. F. C. Burkitt, M.A., Cambridge, England.
Prof. Ernst von Dobschütz, Halle, Germany.
Prof. Adolf Harnack, D.D., Berlin, Germany.
Prof. A. Jülicher, D.D., Marburg, Germany.
Prof. Marie Joseph Lagrange, Jerusalem (care of M. Gabalda, 90 Rue Bonaparte, Paris).
Prof. A. H. Sayce, D.D., Oxford, England.
Prof. G. A. Smith, D.D., Aberdeen, Scotland.

ACTIVE MEMBERS[2]

(628) '21 Rev. Prof. Howard C. Ackerman, B.D., M.A., Nashotah, Wis.
(593) '20 Prof. Arthur Adams, Ph.D., Trinity College, Hartford, Conn.
(496) '13 Miss Charlotte Adams, 135 E. 52d St., N.Y. City.
(242) '92 Pres. Cyrus Adler, Ph.D., 2041 North Broad St., Phila., Pa.
(576) '17 Wm. Foxwell Albright, American School for Oriental Research, Jerusalem, Palestine.
(466) '11 Prof. Herbert C. Alleman, Gettysburg, Pa.
(415) '07 Prof. Frederick L. Anderson, D.D., Newton Centre, Mass.
(305) '96 Prof. Wm. R. Arnold, Ph.D., 7 Francis Ave., Cambridge, Mass.
(184) '88 Prof. B. W. Bacon, D.D., 244 Edwards St., New Haven, Conn.
(373) '04 Prof. Wm. Frederic Badé, Ph.D., Pacific School of Religion, Berkeley, Cal.
(594) '20 Roland Bainton, Yale School of Religions, New Haven, Conn.
(712) '21 Lieut. C. C. Baker, Box 296, Lancaster, Calif.
(469) '11 Phillips Barry, A.M., 83 Brattle St., Cambridge, Mass.
(210) '91 Prof. George A. Barton, 3725 Chestnut St., Philadelphia, Pa.
(211) '91 Prof. L. W. Batten, Ph.D., 6 Chelsea Sq., N.Y. City.
(614) '21 Prof. Bruce R. Baxter, M.A., Mt. Union College, Alliance, Ohio.

[1] This list has been corrected up to Dec. 1, 1921 Members are requested to notify the Recording Secretary, H. J. Cadbury, 7 Buckingham Place, Cambridge 38, Mass, of any change of address.

[2] The two numbers prefixed to the name of each member indicate the order and date of his accession to membership in the Society.

(561) '16 Prof. John W. Beardslee, Jr., Ph.D., D.D., Theological Seminary, New Brunswick, N. J.
(568) '16 Rev. C. Theodore Benze, Lutheran Seminary, Mt. Airy. Pa.
(570) '16 Prof. Immanuel G. A. Benzinger, Ph.D., Wagner College, Staten Island, N. Y.
(326) '99 Prof. George R. Berry, D.D., Colgate Univ., Hamilton, N.Y.
(318) '98 Prof. Julius A. Bewer, Ph.D., Union Theol. Sem., N.Y. City.
(618) '21 Pres. James A. Blaisdell, Pomona College, Claremont, Cal.
(613) '21 Prof. F. J. Bliss, 1155 Yale Station, New Haven, Conn.
(551) '15 Rev. Joshua Bloch, Ph.D., 16 W. 23rd. St., N. Y. City.
(604) '20 Rev. P. F. Bloomhardt, Ph.D., 134 E. Delevan St., Buffalo, N. Y.
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CONSTITUTION

I

This association shall be called "The Society of Biblical Literature and Exegesis."

II

The object of the Society shall be to stimulate the critical study of the Scriptures by presenting, discussing, and publishing original papers on Biblical topics.

III

The officers of the Society shall be a President, a Vice-President, a Recording Secretary, a Corresponding Secretary, and a Treasurer, who, with five others, shall be united in a Council. These shall be elected annually by the Society, with the exception of the Corresponding Secretary, who shall be elected annually by the Council. Additional members of the Council shall be the Presidents of the Sections hereinafter provided for. There shall be also a Publishing Committee, consisting of the Corresponding Secretary and two others, who shall be annually chosen by the Council.

IV

Members shall be elected by the Society upon the recommendation of the Council. They may be of two classes, active and honorary. Honorary members shall belong to other nationalities than that of the United States of America, and shall be especially distinguished for their attainments as Biblical scholars. The number of honorary members chosen at the first election shall be not more than ten; in any succeeding year not more than two.

V

The Society shall meet at least once a year, at such time and place as the Council may determine. On the first day of the annual meeting the President, or some other member appointed by the Council for the purpose, shall deliver an address to the Society.

VI

Sections, consisting of all the members of the Society residing in a particular locality, may be organized, with the consent of the Council

for the object stated in Article II, provided that the number of members composing any Section shall not be less than twelve. Each Section shall annually choose for itself a President, whose duty it shall be to preside over its meeting, and to take care that such papers and notes read before it as the Section may judge to be of sufficient value are transmitted promptly to the Corresponding Secretary of the Society. The Sections shall meet as often as they shall severally determine, provided that their meetings do not interfere with the meetings of the Society.

VII

This constitution may be amended by a vote of the Society, on recommendation of the Council, such amendment having been proposed at a previous meeting, and notice of the same having been sent to the members of the Society.

BY-LAWS

I

It shall be the duty of the President, or, in his absence, of the Vice-President, to preside at all the meetings of the Society; but, in the absence of both these officers, the Society may choose a presiding officer from the members present.

II

It shall be the duty of the Recording Secretary to notify the members, at least two weeks in advance, of each meeting, transmitting to them at the same time the list of papers to be presented at the meeting; to keep a record of the proceedings of such meetings; to preserve an accurate roll of the members; to make an annual report of the condition of the Society; to distribute its publications, and to do such other like things as the Council may request.

III

It shall be the duty of the Corresponding Secretary to conduct the correspondence of the Society, and in particular, to use his best efforts for the securing of suitable papers and notes to be presented to the Society at each meeting; to prepare a list of such papers, and to place it in the hands of the Recording Secretary for transmission to the members; to receive all papers and notes that shall have been presented, and lay them before the Publishing Committee.

IV

It shall be the duty of the Treasurer to take charge of all the funds of the Society, and to invest or disburse them under the direction of the Council, rendering an account of all his transactions to the Society at each annual meeting.

V

It shall be the duty of the Council to propose candidates for membership of the Society; to elect the Corresponding Secretary and the additional members of the Publishing Committee; to fix the times and places for meetings, and generally to supervise the interests of the Society.

VI

It shall be the duty of the Publishing Committee to publish the proceedings of the Society, and also to select, edit, and publish, as far as the funds of the Society will justify, such papers and notes from among those laid before them, as shall in their judgment be fitted to promote Biblical science.

VII

The fee for admission into the Society shall be five dollars, besides which each member shall annually pay a tax of three dollars; but libraries may become members without the fee for admission, from which, also, members permanently residing abroad shall be exempt. The donation at one time, by a single person, of fifty dollars shall exempt the donor from all further payments, and no payments shall be required of honorary members.

VIII

Each member shall be entitled to receive, without additional charge one copy of each publication of the Society after his election; in addition to which, if he be a contributor to the *Journal*, he shall receive twenty-five copies of any article or articles he may have contributed.

IX

Five members of the Council, of whom not less than three shall have been elected directly by the Society, shall constitute a quorum thereof. Twelve members of the Society shall constitute a quorum thereof for the transaction of business, but a smaller number may continue in session for the purpose of hearing and discussing papers presented.

The following resolution, supplementary to the By-Laws, with reference to the price at which members may procure extra copies of the *Journal*, was adopted June 13th, 1884.

Resolved: That the Secretary be authorized to furnish to members, *for the purpose of presentation*, additional copies of any volume of the *Journal*, to the number of ten, at the rate of $1 a copy, but that the price to persons not members be the amount of the annual assessment.

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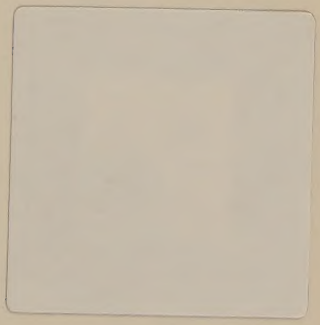

United Theological Seminary Library

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